Pathways to the Future:
A Review of Military Family Research

Edited by Peggy McClure, Ph.D.

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Military Family Institute
OF MARYWOOD UNIVERSITY
a Department of Defense - sponsored research center
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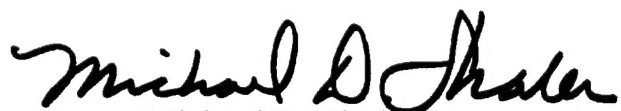
Foreword

The future of military family research rests on the continuing requirement to better understand our military service members and their families, as they serve our nation at home and abroad. The research of the previous ten to fifteen years has provided a solid foundation of understanding, but the complexities of any social system are present in the study of the military family. Our assumptions about relationships among variables will be challenged, the environment in which our military families live their lives will continue to change, and the demands of service will continue to evolve. All these factors will influence the research agenda for the future.

The pathways to the future of military family research will be better illuminated by an increased understanding of what has gone before. This compendium seeks to build on this solid foundation of high quality research. We have assembled some of our nation's best scientists in this review of military family research, and they have outlined for us the path to the future in their areas of expertise. Dr. Peggy McClure has served us all well as she has edited the varied chapters to produce a coherent and succinct look at where we have been in the field of military family research. The chapter authors have indicated the pathway to the future, which will help to maximize the scarce research funding as we build the bridge to the future.

We thank all the authors for their insights and expositions on the future—always a risky endeavor. It is through this sort of introspection that we can gain clarity, and ensure that our efforts continue to support those who give the most—our service members and their families.

Michael D. Shaler
Director

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Preface

This compendium outlines the vast amount of military family research which has been conducted over the past decade. Military members and their families may justifiably feel that they are the most thoroughly studied group in contemporary society. Hopefully the people who have filled out questionnaires or participated in focus groups understand that all this research reflects the efforts of military leaders and policymakers to understand the challenges that military families face and to improve their quality of life.

The first chapter in this compendium highlights significant changes in military organization and culture and provides the context for the entire volume. Each of the remaining chapters focuses on a particular topic area and reviews what we have learned, identifies gaps in our present knowledge, and suggests directions for future research. In several cases, theoretical issues pertaining to a given substantive area are explored as well. At the end of these chapters devoted to specific research areas is an annotated bibliography—works chosen by the authors to represent the best or most influential examples of research for their topic—as well as a list of references for that subject.

The process of editing these chapters has provided a unique opportunity to make some general observations about military family research and offer a few suggestions beyond the specific substantive recommendations provided by each of the contributors.

Much military research is done under considerable time pressure because policymakers need information quickly in order to make timely decisions. Once some basic facts are gathered and summarized, it is often necessary to move on to the next priority. As a result, there has been an accumulation of rather large databases, which have not been fully analyzed. Although examples of secondary analysis of such data exist (e.g., Pittman and Bowen; Schumm), it would clearly be desirable to conduct additional analyses of these data. Because these databases are so large, they are ideally suited to multivariate analysis and developing models to ascertain more precisely the effects of a number of variables on questions of interest. Through this process, secondary analysis plays an important role in developing and refining theories and identifying questions that might usefully be explored in future surveys.

This review of military family research also reveals the value of theory and the need for more effort in that direction. The family adaptation model developed by McCubbin and elaborated by Bowen and others (see Chapter 5) provides a case in point. This model has been quite productive, influencing much of the military family research, most recently in the area of family adaptation to deployment (Chapter 6). Theories such as this help to identify and explain the factors most likely to affect outcomes important to decision makers (e.g., readiness, retention, or satisfaction with the military). They also point the way to designing better studies to answer the most basic and practical questions of concern to military policymakers. Theoretical debates such as the controversy over Moskos' Institutional/Occupational thesis (Chapter 14) are also productive. Whether one agrees or disagrees with the theories, debating the issues encourages researchers and policymakers to think about the possible long-term consequences of trends and organizational decisions. Revisions in existing theories

may be needed to adequately deal with the changes that are underway in military organization and culture (Chapter 1) as well as those affecting gender roles and family structure.

Although many decision makers may feel more comfortable with research that is based on large samples, the value of qualitative research should not be overlooked. Qualitative research has gained considerable respect among academics and it offers many advantages to military researchers. It provides an effective way to explore uncharted areas. It is especially useful for obtaining information in depth to help identify and clarify issues that are important and meaningful for the populations being studied. It is more flexible than a questionnaire because issues may surface that researchers may not have anticipated in advance and these can be incorporated into the ongoing research process. Qualitative research can also be quite economical in terms of both money and time.

With so much discussion of changes that are taking place in the military and what the military will become in the future, it would be very important to be able to document and analyze trends with longitudinal studies. Tracking the same military respondents over time is admittedly a problem, given the frequency of transfer and the numbers of those who leave the service. However, cohort and trend analysis will become increasingly possible in the future as we accumulate data from surveys that ask the same questions at different points in time.

Given the complexity of issues that are involved in military family research, it would be desirable to see more research, which goes beyond the individual level of analysis, to include aggregate units of analysis such as the work group, the installation, and various sub-populations. Finally, the most productive research in the future might well employ multiple methods. Combining surveys of large, representative samples of military members and their families with qualitative research and analysis of existing data can maximize the advantages and minimize the limitations of each approach.

Peggy McClure, Ph.D.

Chapter 1

CHANGES IN THE AMERICAN ARMED FORCES: IMPLICATIONS FOR MILITARY FAMILIES[1]

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Introduction

The defining characteristic of the American military establishment, from the end of the Second World War until 1989, was the position that America assumed in the Cold War in general, and its specific role in the bipolar politico-military confrontation in Europe between the members of the North Atlantic Alliance and the signatories to the Warsaw Treaty. This characteristic contributed to other features of the Armed Forces. These included the continuation of military conscription until 1973, the maintenance of a large standing military force even when the United States was not actively engaged in overt military hostilities, the willingness of the nation to support a large military budget, a definition of military mission that focused on the European theater, and normative restrictions on the role that the United States was to play in peacekeeping operations. Indirectly, it also encouraged an emphasis on active duty forces and minimal use of reserve military forces. Conscription ended a quarter of a century ago, and all of the other features noted here have changed during the last decade, after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War in Europe (Segal, 1992). These changes have all had consequences for military families.

The Advent of the Cold War Volunteer Military Force

In 1973, in part as a result of opposition to military conscription during the Vietnam War, the United States ended the military draft (Segal, 1989). This was not America's first voluntary military force. Historically, the American people have not embraced military conscription gladly. The draft has been used primarily as a tool of wartime military mobilization; after wars we have demobilized and returned to volunteer military forces. This was even true of the period between the two World Wars. Since the birth of the Republic, America has had voluntary military forces for more years than it has had military conscription, and even during periods of conscription, more volunteers than involuntary draftees served in uniform. The Cold War volunteer force, however, represented a unique social experiment. It was the first time that America had attempted to maintain a large standing military force on a voluntary basis. The historical pattern would have predicted a post-World War II demobilization. That process was delayed for decades by the Cold War, and by the hot wars in Korea and Vietnam.

The end of conscription, which had been male only, and the advent of an all-voluntary military force in 1973, had important implications for the family demography of the American military even as the Cold War continued. First, although a majority of personnel in the American Armed Forces had been married since before 1972 (Segal et al., 1976), the continuation of military conscription had meant that a considerable proportion of the force would be composed of young unmarried men, turning over fairly frequently, and placing a ceiling on the proportion of the force that was likely to be married. Conversely, the end of conscription and the conversion to a more professional and career-oriented military service meant that personnel turnover would be reduced, personnel would remain in service longer, as they aged they would be more likely to marry and have children, and the proportion of the force that was married and with children would increase.

Today there are some 850,000 military families with more than 1.3 million children. The approximately 1.5 million active duty personnel have 2.28 million family members, including spouses, children, and adult dependents (Military Family Clearinghouse, 1995). Approximately 60% of service members are married, with the percentage varying by rank and service (Military Family Clearinghouse). Only the lower four enlisted pay grades have a minority of married personnel (36%). Sixty-two percent of junior officers (O1-O3) and warrant officers (W1-W3) are married, compared to 89% of more senior officers and warrant officers. Among mid-level and senior enlisted personnel, 79% of those in pay grades E5-E6 and 88% of those in pay grades E7-E9 are married. Overall, the smallest proportion of married personnel is within the Marine Corps (47%). That is due to the concentration of marines in the lower enlisted grades. More senior marines have marriage rates similar to the other services. The Air Force is the most married service (68%).

Second, the end of conscription produced a change in the gender composition of the American Armed Forces. Under conscription, the Selective Service System was able to deliver the required number of young men to the military services. As a result, the number of women in the Armed Forces, and the roles in which they were allowed to serve, were minimized. At the dawning of the all-volunteer force, only 2% of uniformed personnel were women. However, placed in a competitive labor market, the Armed

Forces were not able to recruit the required numbers of young men voluntarily. This personnel shortage was occurring as the larger society was moving toward greater gender equality, including the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment by Congress in 1972 (and expectations that it would be ratified by the states). As a consequence of both these trends, the number of women brought into service, as well as the service roles they performed, expanded markedly.

Today, 14% of uniformed personnel are women (Manning & Griffith, 1998). While military women are less likely to be married and to have children than their male peers, the presence of substantial numbers of women with families has the potential for great social change in the Armed Forces. Since the work place is a primary determinant of courtship and mate-selection patterns, there has been an increase in the number of dual-military marriages (7.6% of all military members according to 1992 Defense Manpower Data Center [DMDC] data). Most are in the same service, but inter-service couples also occur—especially in the Marine Corps (DMDC, 1994b; Military Family Clearinghouse, 1995). Recent efforts to mandate that fraternization regulations be uniform across the services have required changes in Army policies and have focused attention on the approximately 500 married couples in which one spouse is an officer and the other an enlisted person. Such relationships will not occur in the future under fraternization guidelines issued to all of the services in August 1998. There is a growing number of military veterans among civilian wives of military men, a phenomenon that has not been studied despite potential consequences for family adaptation and satisfaction.

However, civilian spouses of American military personnel today are not only wives, but also husbands. Only a slight majority (53.8%) of married military women is in dual-military marriages. However, a majority of the civilian husbands of the remaining married military women are military veterans (DMDC, 1994a; Johnson, 1998). Most married military women in the Army and the Navy are not in dual military marriages (Department of the Army, 1997; Johnson). Civilian husbands, especially those who have never served in the Armed Forces, are likely to experience special social and interpersonal difficulties resulting from their treatment by other members of the military community (Bourg, 1995; Johnson). Military culture has traditionally assumed that military personnel are men, and military family policies and programs tend to be oriented toward traditional gender roles and traditional family structures. While there has been some change in this in recent years, civilian husbands of military wives are still treated as oddities.

A third trend is that the conversion to an all-volunteer force led to the over-representation of some racial and ethnic groups in the military, especially African Americans. Of personnel on active duty in 1997, approximately 18% of men and 31% of women were Black (Manning & Griffith, 1998). While much public attention and research has analyzed the causes and consequences of this trend, little attention has been paid to racial and ethnic diversity in military families. Some studies of family housing have found that military communities are unlike civilian neighborhoods in that they are (and have been for some time) racially integrated, with many cross-racial friendships among neighbors (Segal, 1986a).

Fourth, and perhaps most important, as the Armed Forces have learned to compete in the labor market for quality personnel, they have found that such competition involves

not only the initial recruitment of personnel, but also their long-term retention. One important factor in the retention of personnel is family satisfaction. Service members whose family members are not happy with military life are likely to seek alternative employment in the civilian sector. This results in putting the services to the expense of recruiting, training, and retaining replacements. There are, therefore, clear economic payoffs to military family satisfaction.

Military wives, like other American women, derive their personal identities less from their husbands than in the past and they have increased their participation in the labor force. Spouse employment satisfaction has been shown to be a major determinant of family satisfaction with military life (Orthner, 1990). What affects spouse support for retention is not whether or not the spouse is employed, but rather whether the spouse's employment outcomes (whether employed, type of work, pay, etc.) meet their expectations (Scarville, 1990).

Military policies, programs, and practices have significant effects on family adaptation to the greedy demands of the military lifestyle, on family satisfaction, and on service members' commitment to the service (Segal, 1986b). For example, perceptions by Army soldiers and their spouses that their unit leaders care about their families have direct positive effects on soldiers' (and their spouses') affective commitment to the Army (Bourg & Segal, 1999). Implementing policy and practice recommendations derived from research can increase family adaptation as well as service members' readiness and retention (Segal & Harris, 1993).

As a result of all of these changes, attention to families by the Armed Forces has increased dramatically over the past twenty years (Segal, 1986b; Stanley, Segal, & Laughton, 1990). During the Cold War and the first two decades of the all-volunteer force, many programs have been developed to help families adjust to the military lifestyle. These include financial services, childcare, spouse employment programs, relocation assistance, and support services during deployments. Current changes in the international scene and the Armed Forces pose new challenges for military families and for the Armed Forces in their attempts to provide for military personnel and their families.

New Times for the Military: Downsizing and New Missions

While the Cold War in Europe is over, and the military is downsizing, American military personnel are participating increasingly in nontraditional operations that pose new challenges in political, social, and military dimensions. During the Cold War, the bipolar antagonism between the Soviet Union and the United States limited both the ability of the United Nations to mount multinational peacekeeping operations, and the military involvement of these superpowers in the missions that were initiated. Traditional peacekeeping involved a norm of impartiality and it was assumed that the United States and the Soviet Union were unlikely to be impartial disinterested parties in an international dispute. Since the end of the European Cold War, the United Nations has become a more active sponsor of multinational peacekeeping operations (Segal, 1995), and the United States has become a more frequent participant. United States operations also include strategic peacekeeping missions that go beyond traditional interposition between conflicting parties with the consent of these parties

(Dandeker & Gow, 1997), and missions conducted under auspices other than those of the United Nations.

In 1993, for the first time, U.S. Army doctrine began to reflect the changing nature of military missions. Field Manual (FM) 100-5, Operations, the Army's basic field manual for doctrine, explicitly included a section on "Operations Other Than War" that includes peacekeeping and humanitarian missions (Department of the Army, 1993). The other services have similarly modernized their doctrine.

Doctrinal modification reflects the fact that the American military has become busier with these missions than it was during the height of the Cold War. Although American military force structure has been reduced by about one-third, from roughly 2.1 million to roughly 1.4 million uniformed active duty personnel, and defense spending has been reduced by almost 40%, the overseas use of American military forces has increased by almost 300%. In the early nineties, American military personnel were involved in more than 45 operations (Doyle, Lewis, & Williams, 1996) that took them to places like Panama, Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Haiti, Rwanda, Bosnia, and Macedonia.

The stress of peacekeeping operations for the families of peacekeepers has long been recognized (Segal & Segal, 1993). What has been less clear is the cumulative effect on families of repeated peacekeeping missions.

Although peacekeeping doctrine does not specify light infantry units as the most appropriate U.S. forces for peacekeeping, during the period of traditional peacekeeping interposition, such units—the 82nd and 101st Airborne, and the 10th and 25th Infantry Divisions—bore most of the burden due to their rapid deployability (Segal, 1996). In a study of soldiers in the 10th Mountain Division—which in three successive years had been deployed to Florida for Hurricane Andrew relief (1992), to Somalia for Operation Restore Hope (1992-1993), and to Haiti for Operation Uphold Democracy (1994)—a clear majority said peacekeeping operations are hardest on soldiers with families. About a third were not sure (primarily unmarried soldiers and soldiers who had not deployed on such operations). Very few disagreed (Reed & Segal, 1998). More dramatically, although most soldier attitudes were found not to vary as a function of number of deployments, the percentage of those feeling that peacekeeping is hardest on soldiers with families increased from 51% of those who had been on no missions or only one mission, to more than 70% among those who had been on three or more missions.

Units other than light infantry, such as military police, logistical support, civil affairs, special operations, and heavy combat units have increasingly been deployed to perform peace operations. This has occurred as the United States has become involved in increasing numbers of these operations, as they have grown to include more troops, and as they have increasingly involved strategic peacekeeping rather than traditional interposition missions. As is the case with light infantry, these deployments have implications for military families.

For example, in March 1994, President Clinton announced that a PATRIOT missile battalion would be deployed to South Korea in response to North Korea's refusal to comply with nuclear site inspections. The decision to send PATRIOTs to Korea

impacted significantly on the families of PATRIOT soldiers, as well as reflecting the fact that the Cold War is not yet over in Asia.

There are only nine PATRIOT battalions in the U.S. Army. In the eighties, they were stationed either in the United States or in Germany. In either case, married soldiers were stationed with their families. In 1990, although the PATRIOT had been developed as an antiaircraft rather than an anti-missile system, when Iraq invaded Kuwait and threatened Saudi Arabia, American PATRIOT units were deployed to the Arabian Peninsula to help protect allied nations and coalition forces from Iraqi SCUD missiles. After the war, the PATRIOT missile system never left Southwest Asia (SWA). Units from Germany and the United States have been rotated to staff the PATRIOT systems in SWA. One year, two of the three units in Germany divide the assignment for six months temporary duty each. The next year, two of the units from the continental United States divide the mission for six months each. Thus, prior to the deployment of PATRIOTs to Korea, in any two-year period, four of our nine PATRIOT battalions each experienced a six-month period of family separation (Jones, 1995).

One of the units that had served in SWA was the 2nd Battalion (PATRIOT) 7th Air Defense Artillery Regiment (2-7 ADA). This unit had served in the Gulf War, and had rotated back to SWA from April to September 1993, and then scheduled to be stabilized at Fort Bliss Texas for two years. However, in April 1994, with little advance preparation, 2-7 ADA deployed for an unaccompanied six-month tour in Korea. After six months, it was replaced by 1-43 ADA, which was to be forward stationed in Korea, with soldiers serving in it for one year unaccompanied tours. This latter unit had more time to prepare its soldiers and their families for this deployment.

Research on these first two PATRIOT units to be deployed to Korea showed some significant differences between them with regard to family issues (Segal, Rohall, Jones, & Manos, 1999). Almost two-thirds of the soldiers in 1-43 ADA reported strong family support for their Army careers, compared to less than half in 2-7 ADA. More than half of the soldiers in 1-43 ADA reported good family adjustment to the Army, compared with about a third in 2-7 ADA. Almost 40% of the soldiers in 2-7 ADA reported a decrease in spouse support for reenlistment as a result of the Korea deployment, as compared with about 15% in 1-43 ADA. Perhaps most dramatically, over half the soldiers in 2-7 ADA reported that if future assignments required long separations, they would leave the military, compared to about a quarter of the soldiers in 1-43 ADA. Family adjustment to the Army was strongly related to soldier morale, and both satisfaction with resources to communicate home and perceptions that leaders were supportive of soldiers and their families were important determinants of family adjustment (Rohall, Segal, & Segal, 1999).

Families of Deployed Peacekeepers: The Reserves

It has long been recognized that peacekeeping deployments have been hard on soldiers' families. With the military assuming increased numbers of peacekeeping missions, involving larger numbers of soldiers, attempts have been made recently to lift the family separation burden placed on active component personnel by using reservists for peacekeeping. For example, in 1995 the United States fulfilled its obligation to provide an infantry battalion task force to the Multinational Force and Observers (MFO) in the Sinai in support of the Camp David Accords by sending an

experimental unit—80% of which was drawn from the reserve components, primarily the National Guard. Sending reservists rather than active duty personnel on peacekeeping missions raises interesting family issues.

Reservists' families are less accustomed to the military way of life and less familiar with how to access military benefits to which they are entitled. They are less likely to be integrated into a military social support network. They are also a difficult population for the services to reach, especially when they are dispersed throughout the U.S. rather than concentrated in one geographical area (Caliber Associates, 1993). Reservists' families are less likely than active duty families to use installation-based social services. This is at least partly due to the distance between their homes and the nearest installation (Rosenberg, 1994; Bell, Stevens, & Segal, 1996). Also, reservists called up for missions (rather than volunteering) can experience a drop in income, especially if they are in high paying civilian jobs (Caliber Associates). For both reservists and active duty personnel on deployments, access to fast, inexpensive, and effective communication with families is of the utmost importance. An advantage for reservists' families over active duty families is that they are less likely to be geographically separated from extended family and long-term friends and are more likely to be integrated into civilian social support networks (Bell, Schumm, Segal, & Rice, 1996).

Family Communication in the Electronic Age

Communication between forward-deployed soldiers and their families at home has always been a challenge and a morale issue. The postcard was invented during the Franco-Prussian War. The mail continued to be the major vehicle of direct contact, although by the Korean War, telegraph, telephone, and the Military Affiliate Radio System (MARS) were playing a role. Electronic media—particularly the telephone— became increasingly important, and large telephone bills became a major problem even as the telephone helped bridge the distance between soldiers and their loved ones at home (Applewhite & Segal, 1990). This problem has continued for some deployments, including the Sinai MFO. Operation Restore Hope in Somalia in the early nineties saw the first forward deployed e-mail distribution system, with 10,000 e-mail messages traveling between Somalia and the United States (Ender & Segal, 1995). More recently, interactive video and cellular telephones have helped to link forward-deployed soldiers and the home front. In 1994 during Operation Uphold Democracy in Haiti, about 12% of soldiers reported using e-mail at least once a month, and about 14% reported using TV teleconferencing at that level. About 18% of soldiers' spouses used e-mail and about 14% used TV teleconferencing at least once a month. These figures reflected increased use from the earlier Somalia deployment (Ender & Segal, 1998).

Conclusion

The trends discussed in this chapter are likely to continue. The American active-duty Armed Forces are unlikely to grow larger, and will probably get smaller. Members in the Armed Forces are likely to be more professionalized and career oriented, and hence, older with more members likely to be married. There will be continued pressures on the defense budget, and budget allocations are likely to go to hardware acquisition and to deferred maintenance rather than to personnel (including family)

programs. Noncash benefits to families are declining, as is retirement pay. The job security that once was a strong incentive for career personnel is threatened. The smaller force is likely to continue to be called upon to perform a large number of out-of-area missions—including peacekeeping—contributing to frequent family separation as a characteristic of military service. Where possible, reserve forces will increasingly be used to supplement the active forces on these missions, thus making separation a more common characteristic of service in the reserve components as well. At the same time, the Armed Forces, which have in past years assumed more responsibility for the well-being of the families of their personnel than have most employers, are increasingly likely to regard military families as apart from, rather than a part of, the military community. This will occur as increasing numbers of military spouses pursue their own careers, and increasing numbers of military families live off post, and receive their basic services—from education and health to recreation and entertainment—outside the military.

With fewer troops forward stationed in Europe and bases in the U.S. being closed, many remaining U.S. bases are growing. It may be that military families will move less often and thus have more chance to "put down roots," become integrated in the civilian community, develop social support networks, and have more stable spouse employment opportunities. However, there is new evidence to suggest that a major military presence in local labor markets depresses civilian wages, particularly for women, and increases women's unemployment (Booth, Falk, Segal, & Segal, 1998).

There is an inherent tension between these trends and the needs of the nation for an effective military force. The ways in which this tension is resolved will affect the effectiveness of the American military in the future. In a democratic society, it is important for the military not to become isolated from, or too distinct from, civilian society and culture. The trends in military families that we have discussed have their origins in changes in military missions and changes in the wider social structure and culture. Military readiness is best served when military policies, programs, and practices adapt to these trends at the same time that military families adapt to military requirements.

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Chapter 2

MILITARY COMMUNITIES

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Introduction

Social scientists have long appreciated the important role that primary groups play in promoting morale and organizational performance in military units (George, 1971; Janowitz & Little, 1974; Stouffer et al., 1949). Described by C. H. Cooley (1909) nearly 90 years ago, these intimate and interdependent face-to-face relations, which are the product of reciprocal and mutually beneficial exchanges over time, reflect the sense of esprit de corps among members in a group. Yet, neither the formation nor the behavior of primary groups is totally voluntaristic; the orientations and behavioral choices of individuals are framed and informed by the larger social environment, which includes structural constraints and opportunities as well as normative values and ideologies (Pittman & Bowen, 1995).

The functionality of these primary groups to the military organization depends on the extent to which they reinforce values, behavior, and norms that are consistent with

the requirements and goals of military service (Janowitz & Little, 1974). However, as Segal, Schubert, & Xialoin (1991) point out, military research on the cohesion of primary groups in units has been strongly influenced by the small group research tradition in social psychology. As a result, the larger organizational and cultural context in which such primary groups form and function has not been a direct focus of research.

Like military members in work units, social scientists have also assumed that the functioning of military families is enhanced when they are embedded in dense community networks of social relations with other military families. These networks are thought to produce the shared positive values toward military service and the prevailing social norms that reinforce social responsibility and mutual support for one another. "We take care of our own" is the battle cry that reflects this normative system of social care. This normative system does not develop in isolation. As stated by Janowitz and Little (1974) in their classic text, *Sociology and the Military Establishment,* "the goals and standards or norms that primary groups enforce are hardly self-generated; they arise from the larger military environment and from the surrounding civilian society" (p. 94). Military leadership and formal systems of social care and social control are important components of this larger military environment. Service cultures may also be important. If primary group members are not sufficiently integrated into the larger military culture, they may develop close ties with one another, but reinforce norms and goals that do not necessarily support those of the organization.

This chapter reviews the role that the military community plays as a mechanism of social care in the lives of military families. Social care is defined as the extent to which military members and their families are able to secure instrumental, informational, and social-emotional support from formal community resources and informal social relationships, as well as the extent to which they have opportunities for meaningful participation in shaping community life (Bowen & Martin, 1998). This care is intended to enhance the ability of families to manage the demands of military life and to work together in meeting military goals, while achieving individual and collective goals as a family unit (cf. Bowen, 1998a; Bowen, Orthner, & Bell, 1997). For purposes of this review, community refers to the spatial setting in which a family resides, specifically the military installation and the surrounding civilian community that may include one or more civilian municipalities. Such community of place is distinguished from functional communities, which are defined on the basis of common interests and activities rather than their physical location (Gusfield, 1975). For the most part, the installation and the surrounding civilian community have been the referent point for research on community life in the military.

This review focuses on two dimensions of community recently outlined by Furstenberg and Hughes (1997): institutional resources (i.e., formal community) and social organization (i.e., informal community). Formal community reflects the policies and systems of social care that operate under military and civilian government authority as instruments of socialization and social control. These community tools have been designed, in part, to support military families in fulfilling their needs and meeting military requirements. Informal community includes voluntary associations, including unit based support groups, and less organized networks of social care that are based on mutual exchanges and reciprocal responsibility, such as relationships with friends,

work associates, and neighbors. Froland, Pancoast, Chapman and Kimboko (1981) distinguish these two networks of social care as the "world of professionals" and the "world of lay helpers" (p. 265); McKnight (1997) draws upon the work of Alexis de Toqueville to label these dimensions as "systems" and "associations." This review draws primarily on military literature that has been produced over the last decade. It seeks to identify gaps in this literature and discuss implications for future research. Because of the service imbalance in defining and executing programs of community and family research, the review relies more heavily on research from the U.S. Army.

A review of research on military community is timely given recent changes in the nature of the military organization. First, downsizing in the context of more complex and diversified missions around the globe have increased operation tempo and personnel tempo (expecting more with fewer personnel). This situation adds stress for military members and their families and possibly reduces short-term as well as long-term commitment to military life. Secondly, it seems likely that the trend in the future will be to "homebase" a greater percentage of military personnel and their families at fewer and larger installations in the continental United States for longer tours at a given location. On the positive side, this would make it possible for more military families to purchase homes in the surrounding civilian communities, and for civilian spouses to maintain more serious career commitments in civilian occupations (Lakhani, 1994). Yet, less permanent forward basing of the force will likely result in more frequent deployments for U.S.-based military personnel and more family separations for married and single-parent personnel as they respond to an ever increasing array of global contingencies. Thirdly, budget cuts create pressures to eliminate or outsource various programs and services, making military members and their families increasingly dependent on the civilian community for support. For example, the military is facing a housing crisis and must decide whether to invest in improving military housing or to house all members and their families in the surrounding civilian communities. Finally, increases in the diversity of the active duty forces (more minority members and women) may produce tensions between traditional (White male) military culture and the changing social reality (Dunivin, 1994), challenging military leaders to evolve new models of military social organization.

All of these changes either pose challenges to the strength of military communities or, at least, make their future directions uncertain. Given the importance of community to family adaptation and member readiness, the need for assessing the impact of these trends on military community is clear.

Assumptions

The chapter is guided by six assumptions. First, although informal community is likely to be a more proximate determinant of family behavior than formal community, these two social structures reciprocally influence one another over time (Bowen, 1984c). The relationship between these two support mechanisms may not necessarily be complementary. Formal community may grow at the expense of informal community or compensate for assumed deficits in informal community (cf. Coleman, 1988; McKnight, 1997). For example, it is possible that the more formal supports the community offers to families, the less likely are community members to maintain the kinds of exchanges that provide the basis for forming and maintaining the informal community.

Second, both formal and informal community may have a nonlinear relationship to family and organizational outcomes. From an epidemic model of community effects (cf. Crane, 1991), family and organizational outcomes may decline precipitously when the level of social care in a community falls below a certain threshold. At this point, problems and dysfunction spread like a contagion. On the other hand, once a certain level of community social care is present, further increases may yield little additional return (i.e., ceiling effect). These floor and ceiling effects may vary depending on the level of demands and challenges faced by a community at any single point in time.

Third, community is not likely to operate as a constant in the lives of military families. Families may need different types of communities and combinations of formal and informal supports at different points in the work and family life cycle (Bowen, Richman & Bowen, in press). Families may also need the community to operate differently in response to some demand characteristic, such as during a large-scale deployment or after a catastrophe or disaster. For example, Wright and Bartone (1994) describe the extensive community mobilization efforts at Fort Campbell, Kentucky in response to the Gander plane crash that resulted in the death of 248 soldiers from the 101st Airborne Division. In addition, community involvement may not always be a functional decision for families. Families who live in communities characterized by high social risks (e.g., drugs, crime, violence) or who face an inhospitable environment in the surrounding civilian community for military family life may find it necessary to narrow their range of community-based activities and become more family centric.

Fourth, the operation of formal and informal community depends in part on the physical infrastructure of the community and its sociodemographic composition (Furstenberg & Hughes, 1997). Both of these factors may vary depending on the mission of the military units that are stationed on the installation. For example, the location and size of a military installation may influence the range and quality of available support services. The physical location of support agencies in a community may influence the ease to which residents have access to them, as well as the willingness of residents to use these resources. Communities with high heterogeneity among its residents and high rates of residential mobility may experience low levels of cohesiveness and assume little responsibility for promoting the general welfare of the community (Sampson, Raudenbush, & Earls, 1997).

Fifth, operational units are considered the basic building blocks of community in the military and the defining social address for military families. Their primary sense of identity comes more from the unit to which they are assigned than from their resident installation. For most service members, this identity is with the small unit. While work units vary in their sense of camaraderie and cohesiveness, service members who are assigned to a small unit are typically less heterogeneous than those across the broader military installation. These service members typically share a greater sense of intimacy and social solidarity within rather than across units (Martin & Orthner, 1989). This psychological sense of connection also extends to families of unit members. Primary relationships and informal associations in work units operate to provide major means of social connection and support for families.

Last, the chain of command in work units often operates as a first line of support for military families and as an intermediary social structure that links the two worlds of formal and informal social care. As a quasi-formal support, the chain of command can

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promote an informal support structure within the unit (e.g., sponsorship for new members, social activities, and family support groups) and, if needed, can connect families to formal systems of social care. The aim is create a support network for military families that promotes their adaptation to military life and their ability to meet organizational and operational demands and requirements. Research suggests that military families perceive less negative spillover from work to family, report better adaptation to military life, and experience greater success in coping with military demands, such as relocations and deployments, when they perceive their small unit leaders as (a) expressing interest in the welfare of families, (b) being responsive to family needs and situations that sometimes confront families in the context of military life, (c) involving families in unit activities and sponsored events, (d) maintaining a two-way line of communication with families and setting clear expectations for behavior, (d) knowing about community and family support programs and services, and (e) working in partnership with formal service providers on the installation to provide training and support to families in the unit (Bourg, 1994; Bowen, 1998b; Jones & Butler, 1980; Majchrzak, 1986; Orthner, Bowen, Mancini, Pond, & Levin, 1998; Pittman & Kerpelman, 1996; Teitelbaum, 1990; Wood, Scarville, & Gravino, 1995). First sergeants play a particularly important role as a support system for military families (Nogami, Bowen, & Merrin, 1986; Orthner et al.).

Formal Community as a System of Social Care

Although the future is more uncertain, military leaders have demonstrated a commitment to providing military families with facilities, services, and programs that address their needs and enhance the quality of life of their lives (Martin & Orthner, 1989; National Defense Panel, 1997). These supports are assumed to help mitigate the demands and hardships of military service and provide military families with an infrastructure of social care that promotes family adaptation, organizational commitment and citizenship, and military recruitment, retention, and readiness.

Despite the importance of this assumption as a justification for military expenditures, support for the economic merits of these formal supports remain tenuous. Relatively few evaluations of these formal mechanisms of support have used designs with high internal validity. As a consequence, it is not possible to determine what the situation would be like without these supports or with an enhanced level of support. Yet, efforts on the part of the military services to demonstrate the impacts and benefit-cost outcomes of formal support have intensified since passage of the Government Performance and Results Act of 1993 (Public Law 103-62; cf. Kautz, Netting, Huber, Borders, & Davis, 1997). For example, in 1994 the Department of Defense (DoD) contracted with Caliber Associates to develop a conceptual model using literature reviews that delineates the path of influence between family center programs and readiness indicators (Gimbel, Coolbaugh, Croan, & Wright, 1997). The validity of the general model and the specific program models was tested through secondary analysis of four existing data sets. The U.S. Army, under the Community and Family Support Center, is currently developing logic models for monitoring and evaluating the link between Army Community Center programs and organizational outcomes. Such models are an important first step in moving toward more sophisticated designs for evaluating these formal systems of care. Yet, the justification for such analysis can be questioned when the intent of senior policymakers is to determine how "readiness" can

be "bought" with ten childcare centers versus funding 20 days of training or building another aircraft.

Research has consisted primarily of large-scale, cross-sectional surveys that ask military members and civilian spouses to evaluate their (a) knowledge of, use, and satisfaction with various facilities, services, and programs (e.g., medical care; childcare facilities; moral, welfare, and recreation (MWR) facilities and activities; family centers; satisfaction with base programs); (b) satisfaction with various military policies (e.g., pay and allowances, housing assignment, assignment stability, rights of civilian spouses); and (c) global satisfaction with proxy indicators of the quality of the formal community as a system of social care (e.g., environment for families, military as a place to raise children, service attitude toward families and family problems, base responsiveness to family needs). The installation community is typically the reference point in questions about community in these surveys. Although the majority of military families live in the civilian community, these surveys typically include few, if any, items about resources and supports in the civilian community.

In many cases, these surveys are broad need assessments conducted at the installation level and aggregated across installations within each service branch. For example, the Air Force Office of Family Matters sponsors a bi-annual needs assessment at each of its installations. In addition, DoD and the military services routinely conduct large-scale surveys to assess the perceptions of families toward life in the military, including the 1989 Army Soldier and Family Survey, which was sponsored by the U.S. Army Soldier Support Center, and the 1994 Quality of Life in the U.S. Marine Corps, which was sponsored by the Navy Personnel Research and Development Center. The Defense Manpower Data Center is preparing to administer a follow-up to the DoD Worldwide Surveys that were conducted in 1985 and 1992. Under DoD sponsorship, Marywood University recently conducted a survey of 6,382 adolescents living in military families (Jeffreys et al., 1997). Responses to these surveys are typically analyzed descriptively by the characteristics of respondents using crosstabulation procedures. Although qualitative designs are less frequently employed than survey designs in studies of military community, research by Wood et al. (1995) is an exception. Using an ethnographic approach, the researchers present results about the role that formal and informal systems of care play in the adjustment of Army wives to separation and reunion.

Overall, the results of these efforts suggest that military families are typically aware of support programs and services that exist at the installation level (e.g., Orthner et al., 1998), find military policies generally supportive of family life (Bowen, Orthner, & Zimmerman, 1993; Orthner, 1980; Orthner & Bowen, 1982), and give military service organizations and their representatives a favorable assessment (e.g., Bowen, 1984a; 1986a; Orthner et al.). Although many families express reservations about turning to formal sources of support in times of difficulty and only a minority of families report actually using many of the programs and services offered on installations (Bowen & Richman, 1991; HSRDL & Caliber Associates, 1996; Orthner et al.), users are generally satisfied with the quality of service delivery (Bowen, 1984a; Orthner et al., 1998). On the other hand, families are generally more dissatisfied than satisfied with the military as an environment for families (e.g., Bowen, 1989a; Bowen & Neenan, 1989) and the military receives mixed reviews as a positive environment for children (Orthner; Orthner & Bowen; Orthner & Pittman, 1986). Variation in results is typically

found across pay grade, gender of service member, race/ethnicity, family structure (married with civilian spouse, dual military couple, single-parent), family life cycle stages, location of housing (on base, off base), and location of the installation (CONUS, OCONUS).

Positive evaluations of various aspects of the formal system of care at an installation have been correlated with a number of outcomes of interest to military leadership, including family adaptation (Bowen, et al., 1997; Gimbel et al., 1997; McCubbin & Lavee, 1986; Orthner & Pittman, 1986), overall satisfaction with military life (Bowen, 1989a; Bowen & Neenan, 1989; Janofsky, 1989), the degree to which the family fits into the military (Pittman & Orthner, 1989), reduced work-family conflict (Bourg, 1994), spouse support for the service member's career (Gimbel et al., 1997), job commitment (Orthner & Pittman; Pittman & Bowen, 1995; Pittman & Orthner, 1989), job performance and deployability (Gimbel et al.), ability of civilian spouses to cope effectively with deployment (Gimbel et al.; Pittman & Kerpelman, 1996), commitment to the military (Bourg), and retention intention (Gimbel et al.). Modest effects are the rule rather than the exception. Other findings create questions about the extent to which service members and their families prefer an encompassing formal system of care. For example, in an exploratory study of the relationship between 17 quality-of-military-life indicators and satisfaction with family life in military, Bowen (1989a) found an unusually strong relationship between satisfaction with policies governing personal freedom and satisfaction with the military way of life. The analysis was limited to soldiers who participated in the 1985 DoD Worldwide Survey of Officer and Enlisted Personnel. Although different interpretations of this finding are possible, Bowen suggested that it may indicate that service members prefer a more "occupational" than "institutional" link to military service (c.f., Moskos, 1988).

Informal Community as a System of Social Care

The military has demonstrated a keen interest in the level to which military families are integrated into a network of supportive relationships with neighbors, work associates, and friends; their likelihood to turn to these resources in times of personal or family difficulty; and their perceptions of acceptance by residents in the host civilian community. In nearly every needs assessment and investigation of military family life, a set of questions has been included that assess these general conceptual domains. The Families-in-Blue studies were among the first investigations to challenge the assumption that military families felt close to one another and would readily turn to one another in times of personal or family stress (Bowen, 1984b, 1985; Bowen & Orthner, 1986; Orthner, 1980; Orthner & Bowen, 1982). Although the majority of Air Force families in these studies felt positive about their acceptance and treatment by their local civilian counterparts, they did not feel close to people in their community; even fewer expressed willingness to call upon them in times of hardship. They were especially reluctant to call upon neighbors and co-workers. In addition, most Air Force families stated that they would contact no one if they experienced a major personal or family problem; they would solve the problem themselves. These results held relatively constant by family structure. Yet, willingness to draw upon informal sources of support did vary by pay grade with more senior enlisted and field grade officers expressing reluctance than their junior counterparts. While the results from recent studies of deployments and disasters suggest that families can be mobilized on behalf

of the community in times of adversity or positive challenge (Bell, Stevens, & Segal, 1996), these earlier findings have not been challenged by more recent studies and generally parallel findings from civilian populations.

In general, compared to the number of studies that have examined the relationship between formal supports and outcomes that are related to organizational effectiveness, fewer studies have examined the implications of informal supports for families over the last decade. The 1984 study by Robert Schneider and Mark Gilley of family adjustment among enlisted soldiers and their wives in Germany remains a classic in the field. Yet, social support from informal systems of care at an installation has been shown to be associated with several important indicators of positive adaptation to military life by families. Families with higher levels of support and sense of community report higher family adaptation (Bowen, 1989b; McCubbin & Lavee, 1986; Styles, Janofsky, Blankinship, & Bishop, 1990), greater spouse support for the service member's career (Bowen, 1986b; Schneider & Gilley), better ability to cope with overseas assignments (Schneider & Gilley), higher adjustment to deployment-related separations and reunions (Wood et al., 1995), greater satisfaction with military life (Janofsky, 1989), and greater likelihood to know about and use formal community support mechanisms (Schneider & Gilley). Some variations in the nature and strength of these findings are noted by the gender, pay grade, family structure, family life cycle stage, and geographic location of respondents. In addition, not all research supports a significant effect from informal systems of care. For example, the availability of friends, neighbors, or relatives at the current location to provide support under different conditions was not associated with the family adaptation of single parents in the Army beyond other predictors in the model (Bowen, et al., 1993). Bowen (1989a) also found that satisfaction with acquaintances and friendships had a weak association with the level of satisfaction that soldiers reported with the military as a way of life.

New technology, including e-mail and the Internet, has provided new opportunities for military families to stay connected with one another, as well as to make new friends and to acquire information that supports effective coping with military demands. For example, research suggests that the adolescent children of military parents make more successful adaptation to relocations the sooner they are able to integrate into a new peer group after a move (Jeffreys et al., 1997; Pittman & Bowen, 1994). In the context of such research, the DoD, in cooperation with each of the military services, sponsored the development of Military Teens on the Move (MTOM), a web site for military youth ages 10 to 18. This site provides military teens with an opportunity to stay connected with old friends (e-mail), establish contacts at the new installation before the move (chat room, bulletin board), learn about community resources at the new installation, and anticipate relocation related issues (Wright, Schaffer, Coolbaugh, Bowen & Wiley, 1997). Other military related web sites include Military Spouse Support Network and Sgt. Mom's.

Implications for Future Research

Janowitz and Little (1974), in their discussion of the "military establishment as a social system," concluded that the attitudinal concept of military "morale" was too limited to capture the complexity of individual and group behavior. They recommended "a theory of organizational behavior" (p.27) that captures the operation of the military institution as a social system that informs and constrains individual orientations and

behavioral choices. In a similar vein, the concept of community as currently conceptualized in the research literature needs to be integrated into a broader theory of community behavior. The conceptual anchor for that theory of community behavior is the concept of "social capacity" (Bowen, 1998a; Bowen, et al., in press). Social disorganization theory provides the larger conceptual framework (Furstenberg & Hughes, 1997; Sampson et al., 1997; Shaw & McKay, 1969). The concept of family adaptation is the dependent outcome in this theory, which has been demonstrated in the literature to have a direct and positive effect on organizational outcomes (cf. Bowen et al., 1997).

Social capacity, the central concept in the theory, is defined as the ability of members of a system to come together on either a deliberate or spontaneous basis to: "(a) develop a psychological sense of connection, (b) acquire external resources and create opportunities for meeting individual and collective needs and goals, (c) offer opportunities for meaningful participation, (d) provide instrumental and expressive support, (e) solve problems as a collective unit, (f) affirm and enforce prosocial norms, (g) respond to internal and external threats, and (h) maintain stability and order" (Bowen, 1998a, p. 16). As such, the social capacity of a community refers to its informal system of care and social control. Thus, the concept of social capacity has conceptual linkages with Toennies (1957) concept of gemeinschaft, McKnight's (1997) concept of association, Coleman's (1988) concept of social capital, and Bandura's (1995) concept of collective efficacy as incorporated in the work of Sampson and colleagues (1997). Communities with high levels of social capacity are assumed to function as an ally in promoting the ability of families to adapt to military life. This includes the ability of the family to establish, maintain, or regain an expected or satisfactory range of adaptation when faced with developmental transitions, life adversities, or positive challenges (Bowen; Bowen et al., in press).

As a concept that describes the extent of social organization in a social system, social capacity can be applied not only to describe the functioning of informal networks in communities as a support system for families, but also the functioning of work units and the family system itself (Bowen, 1998a). These informal systems of social care, which reciprocally influence one another, have capacity in the form of commitments and obligations, information exchanges, shared responsibility, and prosocial norms (c.f., Coleman, 1988). The assumed interdependency among these spheres of social capacity can be seen a triple helix with their strains interwoven, like a cable of strength. Deficits in any one area may have negative implications for the other areas. For example, if, as assumed, work units operate as an interface between formal and informal systems of care, deficits in the social capacity at the unit level may limit the development of social capacity in both the family and the community. On the other hand, it is possible that strengths in social capacity in any one area may compensate for deficits in the other areas. For example, the social capacity of work units and communities may need to be particularly strong for families with limited social capacity. From this perspective, a deploying unit's inability to provide for families may be supplemented by capacity in informal relationships in the community. An important agenda for future research is to define the nature of this interdependency at an installation level, which more and more will have to include the civilian community in the equation, as well as to define break points in the level of social capacity below which family adaptation decreases precipitously. It is assumed that once a certain level of social capacity is reached, additional increases yield little additional benefit to

families and their ability to meet organizational demands and requirements. Although such a *ceiling effect* is assumed, researchers are encouraged to test for positive linear functions, as well as for inverted-u shaped functions.

As a two-stage theory (Simcha-Fagan & Schwartz, 1986), social disorganization theory proposes that the social capacity of a community will be influenced by larger structural aspects of the community, including the nature of its formal system of social care, its physical infrastructure, and its social and demographic characteristics, including the frequency and patterns of residential mobility (Furstenberg & Hughes, 1997). Political, economic, and historical forces will also play a role. Of these influences, the operation of the formal system of social care on the development and operation of informal networks in communities has been generally neglected by military social scientists. This formal system of social care includes the extent to which components of the human service delivery system work as an integrated network and the degree to which community members are involved as volunteers and as full participants in community planning and decision making. It also includes the quality of community leadership, the supportiveness of public policies that shape community life, and norms of social responsibility that provide individuals with a set of behavioral prescriptions and proscriptions.

This beginning attempt to define a theory of community behavior is considered to have rich implications for informing research on military communities in the next millenium. The integration of additional concepts from the sociological and psychological literature is likely to enrich the heuristic value of the theory, including the concepts of culture, status, and values. It also may be heuristic for military social scientists to broaden the central concept in the theory from "social capacity" to "community capacity," which includes both informal and formal systems of social care under a single conceptual umbrella. Bowen and Martin (1998) recently incorporated such a concept of community capacity in their discussion of community as a core component of the 21st century military. Although an effort has been made in the present review to define the concept of social capacity from a community perspective, additional work is needed to identify indicators at a community level for assessing this multidimensional concept. Because of its association with community structure and process rather than community outcomes, it is likely that its measurement will require primary data collection.

Annotated Bibliography

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This paper hypothesizes that if military organizations legitimize family demands and operate under an expansion model of commitment then soldiers and their spouses will display commitment to both the military and their family. This may indirectly decrease the amount of work-family conflict.

Responses came from the couple sub-sample of the 1989 Army Soldier and Family Surveys, which included 3,277 Army couples stationed in 34 different locations. This analysis only looked at a sub-sample of married enlisted soldiers with civilian wives. Variables were created to measure soldier organizational commitment, spouse commitment, perceived Army policy support, perceived unit leader support for families, and Army-family conflict. The study created couple scales to measure the different perceptions gathered from the sub-sample.

The results support M. Segal's (1986) idea that if the military is more responsive to families then work-family conflict decreases. This study indicates that the organizational commitment of soldiers is increased when the military is perceived as supporting families. These data support the military adopting an expansion model of resources to foster higher levels of commitment among its members.

Bowen, G. L. (1989a). Satisfaction with family life in the military. *Armed Forces & Society, 15,* **571-592.**

The purpose of this study is to determine if increased satisfaction with the environment for families in the Army will lead to greater overall satisfaction with the military as a way of life. Satisfaction with military life should translate into improved readiness and retention among military personnel. The sample was based on a stratified random sample of 24,217 active duty officer and enlisted U.S. Army personnel worldwide. Officers and females were sampled at a higher rate to secure ample sample sizes for analysis. The response rates—considered to be respectable rates given the voluntary nature of the survey—were 65.2% for officers and 59.1% for enlisted personnel.

The dependent variable was measured by one item: "satisfaction with the military as a way of life." The independent variable, also measured by one item, was "satisfaction with the environment for families." There were 18 control variables that were included to help isolate the unique relationship between the independent and dependent variables. The control variables included items designed to address factors such as pay, retirement benefits, promotion opportunities, medical care, job training, and education.

The sample was divided into four subgroups dependent upon whether or not the military member had children, and whether or not the military member was married to a military spouse. Those four groups were further divided into officer and enlisted groups. In each case, the hypothesis was supported: the more satisfaction that member have with the environment for families, the greater their satisfaction with the military as a way of life. However, for the soldier groups, personal freedom, opportunity to serve one's country, pay and allowances, and current job influenced the level of overall satisfaction more than satisfaction with environment for families. For the officer subgroups satisfaction due to level of personal freedom also had a stronger effect than satisfaction with the environment for families. A limitation of the study is that the results should not be considered to be representative of the Army personnel population since officers and females were oversampled, and personnel with fewer than 10 months of service were excluded.

The results suggest that policies and procedures may need to be tailored to each subgroup to maximize satisfaction, readiness and retention. This study provides direction for further research into the study of this relationship.

Bowen, G. L. (1989b). *Family adaptation to relocation: An empirical analysis of family stressors, adaptive resources, and sense of coherence* **(Tech. Rep. # 856). Alexandria, VA: U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences.**

The purpose of this study was to specify factors that affect the level of family adaptation to relocation. This is a secondary analysis of survey data on 983 officer and enlisted Army families who had recently relocated to West Germany from the United States. Building on the work of McCubbin and Patterson (1983) and others, measures of three types of factors deemed to affect family adaptation were constructed. These domains include family stressors, family adaptive resources, and sense of coherence. Stressors included both general and move-related stressors, measured on four sub-scales. Family resources were assessed at the levels of the individual, the family, and the community. Sense of coherence referred to the perceived degree to which service members and spouses felt that they were able to predict and manage military life and life in West Germany.

Results indicate that the best predictor of family adaptation was the degree to which expectations meshed with actual experiences, (e.g., the job, housing and schools were the same or better than what families expected before arriving in Germany). Of particular interest for this chapter on community is the fact that the level of community support emerged as another strong predictor of family adaptation.

Policy recommendations which flow from the results include providing accurate information and better orientation programs for families who are relocating. Important as well would be policies that promote stronger informal community networks, either through the service members' units or family service providers at the installations.

Bowen, G. L. (1998b). Effects of leader support in the work unit on the relationship between work spillover and family adaptation. *Journal of Family and Economic Issues, 19,* 25-52.

It is has been determined that leadership support is associated with decreased stress and better health outcomes among workers, however there has been little research in military units. The purpose of the present study is to extend current research by investigating the effects (both direct and buffering) that a leader has on the relationship between "work spillover" and "family adaptation" in Army personnel. Two types of work spillover are examined: energy interference and time interference (meaning that the rigors of work impact negatively on the energy and time that one has to meet family needs). The implications of this research include appointing and training new leaders to ensure that they understand and practice supportive behaviors.

The study used a subsample from the 1989 Army Soldier and Family Survey which was a stratified probability sample of 20,033 active duty officers and enlisted U.S. Army personnel worldwide (officers, married personnel and females were oversampled to meet conditions of sample estimates). Active duty personnel filled out questionnaires in group sessions. Those who could not attend a group session were mailed a questionnaire. Spouses were mailed a questionnaire. The effective response rate for the active duty personnel was 77%; spouse response rate was 57%. In order to examine the effect of leader support for families on the association between work spillover and family adaptation, five measures were used: two measures for family adaptation, two for work spillover and one measure for leader support. The control variables, which had been previously identified to be associated with family adaptation, included military pay grade, presence of children, racial/ethnic group, unit type, and dual military status.

The results showed only a moderate buffering effect of leadership on work stress and related health status. However, in regards to the direct effect of leaders on work spillover and family adaptation, a positive relationship was found. These results are consistent with findings of prior research on the relationship between job stress and health-related outcomes; leader support plays both a preventive and therapeutic role in the lives of both males and females. Limitations of this study are that the results may not be representative of all of the married Army personnel at the time of this study. Only those Army personnel whose spouses returned questionnaires were included in the study, and there were groups that were oversampled.

Research for the future should investigate other sources of social support such as spousal support, different types of social support, and mechanisms by which various types and sources of social support are manifested. Also, unit-level analysis (as opposed to individual level analysis in the present study) should be obtained to investigate the contextual effects of social support.

Martin, J. A. & Orthner, D. K. (1989). The "company town" in transition: Rebuilding military communities. In G. L. Bowen & D. K. Orthner (Eds.), *The organization family: Work and family linkages in the military* (pp. 162-177). New York: Praeger Publishers.

This chapter looks at the military community's service programs and recommends that more emphasis be placed on developing small, unit based associations that foster the development of informal sources of social support and greater psychological sense of community among military members and their families. The 1988 Department of Defense allocated $8 billion for quality-of-life services and programs. Taking care of military personnel and their families is considered an important aspect of preparing for conflict. Military leaders fear that the erosion of a military community will directly affect soldier's commitment to each other. There are several current trends that are pointing military community programs towards an "employee benefits" concept rather than the current "employee-owned and operated" concept. This chapter suggests restructuring to a less controlled lifestyle designed to be family-friendly by providing only programs that are not available in the civilian sector. This may result in cost-cuts, less duplication, and more effective programs.

The authors argue the military should focus on a psychological sense of community that forms from primary group relationships. Evaluation data from the Army's Unit Manning System (UMS) demonstrates that a family's sense of belonging and commitment to the military community comes from connections derived from unit based initiatives. This chapter suggests that strengthening ties to the civilian community, creating institutions that foster individual, group and community development, and promoting independence among military personnel, will together create more cohesive and healthy military communities.

McKnight, J. L. (1997). A 21st-century map for healthy communities and families. *Families in Society, 78*, 117-127.

As we approach the next millennium, the author feels that it is appropriate to reexamine the maps of the world that the current policymakers are using so that we can be certain that the maps depict a road to healthy community life. The first part of the present policy map consists of systems: the primary tools (design, planning, delivery and reform) for the work of society; and the second part is comprised of the objects of the systems (consumers). One of the attributes of the present policy system is that it endorses a hierarchical structure to assure uniformity and the capacity for mass production. On the demand side of the equation, it requires that many consumers have a need for the same product or service. Naturally, one of the limitations of this type of system is that it becomes difficult to customize a product or service to meet individual needs. Success is judged, then by quantity over quality.

McKnight contrasts this type of system to the notion of community. Communities are comprised of citizens who collectively identify problems and solutions, and then develop implementation plans for the solutions. Citizens willingly come together in a caring context to offer their unique talents to help the entire group. Understanding the issues that are particular to the community, citizens can use resources more efficiently and can move more quickly to resolve an issue. Creative customization of a treatment becomes possible.

The optimal model for interaction between communities and the system is suggested to be one where the family is at the center of focus with the community associations in the first concentric circle surrounding the family. The systems would be in the second concentric circle providing more global support to the community. This model provides for the rapid response and individualization of community programs. It also empowers the citizens to take responsibility for leadership development, enterprise development, and utilization of unique talents of its members in a supportive environment. McKnight states that a shift to this new paradigm would give some power and autonomy back to the communities while improving effectiveness of resource utilization.

Pittman, J. F. & Bowen, G. L. (1994). Adolescents on the move: Adjustment to family relocation. *Youth and Society, 26*(1), 69-91.

Relocation rates for military families are approximately four times the rate for non-military families, they often do not involve choice, and the moves are more apt to be long distance. It is this transitory character of military life that is often blamed for the tendency of military children to report little attachment to their communities and difficulty in developing close relationships.

The authors look at adolescent adjustment to relocation on three levels: the personal/psychological level, adjustment to the external environment (ability to adjust to the new community), and adjustment in relationships with parents. The study uses indicators of stressors (recency and location of last move), resources (social support, rank/social status and economic), and definitions of the situation (satisfaction with rate of relocation, social ecology of new/old location, perceptions of attitudes of wider community).

Results on the level of personal adjustment indicated the following. The quality of the adolescent/parent relationship contributed the most to personal adjustment. Adolescents who had greater difficulty making new friends following a move and/or who were dissatisfied with treatment by civilians in the new location showed poorer personal adjustment. Personal adjustment was slightly better among children of officers than enlisted, among boys compared to girls and among older than younger adolescents.

The best predictor of external adjustment was dissatisfaction with the rate of relocation. The difficulty in making new friends and leaving old friends, as well as dissatisfaction with treatment by civilians were also negatively related to external adjustment.

The results on the level of relationship with parents indicate that when parents are perceived as source of support, the relationship was evaluated more positively. Relying more on friends for support was a negative predictor of a positive parent child relationship. Relationships with parents were also less positive when the child was dissatisfied with the rate of relocation. Girls, children of officers, and children living with both biological parents reported better relationships with parents.

The authors observe that adolescents prefer to minimize the number of moves and that they are likely to blame their parents if they have to move more often than they would prefer. They stress the importance of programs designed to integrate adolescents rapidly into the new community, and for older teens, programs that bolster social support among peers.

Pittman, J. F. & Bowen, G. L. (1995). *Understanding the joint contributions of individual-level and unit-level variables on adaptation to work: The case of military relocation* **(Final Report). Washington, DC: Department of Defense, Office of Family Assistance.**

This is a secondary analysis of a sub-sample of the 1985 DoD Survey of Officers and Enlisted Personnel, employing both individuals and work units as units of analysis. Thus the sub-sample includes 1081 units composed of at least 15 respondents for whom data is complete, with a total of 29,841 respondents.

The outcome variable used in this analysis was external adaptation, defined as a positive personal fit with demands of military organization. Individual level predictor variables included: (1) background variables (sex, race, rank, marital status, parental status, military experience); (2) relocation variables (rate of relocation, adjustment to last move); (3) a work/family fit indicator (comfort with military demands on families for change); (4) availability of family services; and (5) views of local community toward military members. Unit level variables were: (1) unit composition (large/small concentrations of officers, members who are female, Black, dual career, married and/or parents); (2) collective military experience (mean amount of active duty experience in the unit); and (3) general attitude of unit members (mean attitude about military demands for change on families).

The results indicate that, for individuals, external adaptation is greater among males, Caucasians, officers, married people, and parents. External adaptation was also higher for members who had more military experience, a *higher* rate of relocation, and a more satisfactory adjustment to recent relocations. More satisfaction with military-based family services, the perception of positive attitudes toward the military in the civilian community surrounding the installation, and more comfort with the demands for change made by the military on families were additional individual level predictors of external adaptation. The most powerful predictor is comfort with demands for change.

The analysis of unit level variables showed that, independent of individual characteristics and perceptions, fit is higher in units with: larger concentrations of officers, smaller concentrations of dual-career members, larger concentrations of parents, and more positive general attitudes about the demands for change on military families. These findings are particularly noteworthy, since they demonstrate that the larger contexts in which individuals find themselves can have independent effects on family outcomes, thus making a strong case for moving beyond the individual level of analysis that characterizes the bulk of military family research.

Pittman, J. F. & Kerpelman, J. L. (1996). *Internal and external adaptation in Army families separated by Desert Shield/Desert Storm: The role of services and unit culture.* **Alexandria, VA: U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences.**

This report examines and combines two models describing the connections between work and family: (a) the conflict or demand model and (b) the spillover model. The conflict/demand model advances a structural view of work-family links with work environments placing direct demands on workers and their families. The spillover model emphasizes a personal, bi-directional, psychological management of the work-family links. This report suggests that linking the spillover model with the conflict model may provide a more heuristic model of work-family fit.

Structural equation modeling is used to examine the influence of personal and family coping during the deployment, satisfaction with deployment services, and unit culture on family adaptation following deployment. The deployed member's rank, the spouse's race, and the spouse's parental status are examined as moderating effects in the model. The 1992 Survey of Army Families II in USAREUR was used as a source of data, which includes 1,403 military wives of deployed men during Desert Shield/Desert Storm.

The degree of adaptation was predicted by successful coping during deployment and by satisfaction with the support services used during deployment. In addition, the unit culture, (here defined as the concern of leadership for the families), also predicted ability to meet the demands of deployment by the families of the solders. This relationship between leadership behavior and family satisfaction is a key finding. The authors do not use this finding to delineate how leaders can best display their support for the families. This important issue needs to be further investigated so that leaders learn how best to incorporate supportive measures into their management repertoire.

Sampson, R. J. (1991). Linking the micro- and macrolevel dimensions of community social organization. *Social Forces, 70*(1), 43-64.

This article examines the multi-level systemic relationship between an individual and his/her community. The first stage of analysis examines individual's stable residence as an important factor in the social cohesion and capacity of the community residents. The second stage of analysis examines how community characteristics affect individual behavior. The author hypothesizes that both the length of residence and community residential stability will increase an individual's friendship and acquaintance ties, which will increase attachment to the community.

The hypothesis is applied to a nationally representative sample of 11,030 British residents. The two sources of analysis are a community level of 526 cases representing macrosocial elements of each local district, and an individual level with community information attached to each case. At the community level the data support the structural version of systemic theory by showing that residential stability has the largest direct effect on acquaintanceship. The author states these findings were consistent across differences in geographical size of the community, within-unit variances and reliability of measures. At the individual level the data support that despite some ecological effects, community social cohesion strongly influences individual satisfaction within a community. Residential stability directly and indirectly promotes social cohesion at the community and individual level.

Limitations of this study focus around the difficulties in measuring community level indicators of friendship, social cohesion, and anonymity. The author states this contributes to speculation regarding community level concepts. The author acknowledges the difficulties in studying the gap between community micro and macromodels. He suggests more studies be done examining the process and interactions between individuals and the macrostructure.

Schneider, R. J. & Gilley, M. A. (1984). *Family adjustment in USAREUR: Final report.* **Heidelberg, West Germany: U.S. Army Medical Research Unit—Europe.**

The primary purpose of this research was to determine the ways that military families become assimilated into the community. Four types of housing situations were addressed: on-post housing, subcommunity housing, economy housing in a command sponsored status, and economy housing in a non-command sponsored status.

This was a qualitative and quantitative study of 102 enlisted solders and their wives. The authors do not describe how the sample was drawn nor is mention made to the make-up of the population. Participants were interviewed three times, once shortly after arriving in the community, and subsequently at two six-month intervals. At each interview point, the participants also filled out two questionnaires designed to assess their overall sense of well-being and their psychological sense of community. Seventy eight percent (78%) completed all three interviews.

The main finding was that the sense of community was relatively stable and consistent among all four housing arrangement groups. Even the group living in the civilian community was not found to be alienated from the military. But the importance of family support by the military was underscored. One of many recommendations is for a military sponsor to be appointed for each family to help them integrate into the military community and feel supported there. The importance of the leadership support is also emphasized.

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Chapter 3

THE FUTURE OF MILITARY HOUSING

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Introduction

Describing military housing and predicting its future is much like trying to develop a single image for our nation's large and diverse housing stock. For the purposes of this chapter, the term *military housing* will be used to refer to all government owned, leased, or acquired housing that is operated by the military services (Defense Science Board, 1995) and provided to members of the military services and their families as an *in-kind* benefit. Using this definition the chapter's contents will synthesize literature[1] on (1) the status of the current stock of U.S. military housing, (2) the factors that have historically shaped the supply and quality of this housing, and (3) differences in the two major types of housing available across the services: unaccompanied personnel housing and military family housing. Examination of the past and present then establishes a context for conjecture about the future of military housing and research needed to adequately inform policymakers.

A Mega-Landlord's Holdings

The Department of Defense (DoD) is the nation's largest landlord (Congressional Budget Office [CBO], 1993; Hartman & Drayer, 1990), with some 313,000 on-base family housing units and 612,000 housing units (spaces) for unaccompanied members in its inventory (Defense Science Board, 1995; House Committee on Appropriations, 1998). In the course of acquiring these units, the DoD experimented with different methods of financing and housing development, including federal appropriations (capital grants), leasing, and various privatization programs (such as installment purchase, build-to-lease, and rental guarantees) (Hartman & Drayer). It should not be surprising, given the number of housing units (across the United States and overseas), the varied methods of production and acquisition, and the diversity of people served (with and without families), that this housing varies greatly in style and quality.

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[1] Hartman and Drayer (1990) noted that the literature on military housing programs and policies is largely comprised of government reports and trade journal and media accounts. Housing policy analysts and scholars working outside of the Department of Defense appear to be unaware of military housing programs. Academic literature in this area is extremely limited.

Military housing includes elegant historic officer's quarters, attractive single family units and duplexes, as well as cramped, relatively amenity-less homes, apartments, barracks or bunks aboard ship. There are pockets of new, up-to-date housing, and larger pockets of aging, troubled stock. The most negative media accounts describe some of the housing as "projects" or "ghettos" and the Department of Defense as a "slumlord" (cf. Diamond, 1998; Walker, 1995). Military housing differs by location (both within and outside of the United States), by base (and within base), by branch of service, by rank, and by the presence or absence of family members.

This large and diverse housing stock draws mixed reviews from its inhabitants and policymakers alike (Army Personnel Survey Office, 1996; Defense Science Board, 1995; Orthner, 1980; Twiss & Martin, 1997, 1998; Walker, 1995). The literature makes it clear that military housing is simultaneously a valuable Department of Defense asset (benefiting military members and their families) and an expensive obligation. It is simultaneously a much sought after commodity (Defense Science Board; Hartman & Drayer, 1990)—especially for junior and mid-grade enlisted families—and a source of problems and dissatisfactions, particularly for unaccompanied personnel (Army Personnel Survey Office, 1996; Jowers, 1996; Kerce, 1994; Orthner, 1980). The literature also clearly indicates that no one solution is likely to address all of the issues affecting differing military members, for example, unaccompanied and accompanied personnel, those stationed in the United States, and those living abroad (Army Personnel Survey Office, 1996; CBO, 1993; Defense Science Board).

Factors Affecting the Supply and Quality of Military Housing

Government documents (cf., CBO, 1993; Defense Science Board, 1995; OASDP&R, 1993), as well as historical research (Baldwin, 1993, 1996a), indicate that multiple factors, emerging at varied levels (from global and societal to individual) interact to affect the supply and quality of military housing (Twiss & Martin, 1997, 1998). For the purpose of describing key factors briefly, they are organized here within the following organizational levels: (1) outside the DoD; (2) within the DoD; (3) within the individual services; and (4) at the base or installation level. Examination of some of the critical factors within these levels provides an understanding of the development of military housing and provides clues as to its likely future.

Outside the DoD

Disparities in housing supply and quality across the services emerged from cyclical government interest and investment (Baldwin, 1993, 1996a; CBO, 1993; Defense Science Board, 1995). This cyclical attention occurred in the context of factors that are social, economic, political and international, and technological in nature. Select examples of intersecting developments in these areas are illustrative:
- Military housing received significant attention in times of national economic trough, when it served as a public works initiative to spur the economy, and when it was consistent with political and/or ideological support for military spending (Baldwin, 1993, 1996a). The Great Depression and the early, recessionary years of the eighties offer examples of expanded military construction in this context.

- National and international developments affecting military force dynamics and military service demands have also brought increased governmental interest in military housing. For example, military housing received attention in the context of: centralization of U.S. military forces and international empire building in the late 1800s and early 1900s; Cold War era adoption of a large standing force; post-Vietnam era force drawdown and transition to the All Volunteer Force concept; post-Cold War era downsizing and technological developments; and, increased personnel tempo concomitant with increased international involvement in peace-keeping and humanitarian efforts (Baldwin, 1993, 1996a; Defense Science Board, 1995; Twiss & Martin, 1997, 1998).

Intersecting social, economic, political and international, and technological developments can be viewed as influencing the extent to which military housing receives priority as a national investment at any time (whether financed solely through federal appropriations or through public-private partnerships). Investment is central to both housing quality and supply. It is necessary for the elimination of old and development of new housing, as well as critical to the renovation, maintenance and operation of existing housing. Due to the cyclical nature of the investments made in U.S. military housing, over time much of the stock suffered from inattention and the supply of military family housing never met the demand for such housing (Baldwin, 1993, 1996a; Defense Science Board, 1995).

In addition to its role in appropriating government funds for military housing, Congress enacts, reviews, and amends military housing and construction policies and programs. Federal procurement and military construction laws have been criticized as prohibiting the construction of needed units overseas due to their emphasis on products manufactured in the United States (Defense Science Board, 1995). Critics also argue that the annual appropriations process inhibits requisite long-term investment in the development of housing, and government regulations reportedly make military family housing construction costs higher than comparable civilian housing construction (Defense Science Board; Jowers, 1996; Lipchitz, 1998). While the Congress does not develop policies without consultation and advice from the DoD and the individual services, the literature makes it clear that the Congress has its own interests in military housing and construction programs. Chief among these interests is the economic well-being of representatives' voting districts (Twiss & Martin, 1997, 1998; and cf., Felton, 1982; Towell, 1991).

Within the DoD

Many in the social policy arena are familiar with the *guns versus butter* debate that perennially confronts the federal government in its spending decisions. The debate also occurs within the DoD. Military housing competes for dollars with modernization efforts, operations, training, and research and development (Defense Science Board, 1995). While quality of life issues are important, they are not at the top of the list of DoD priorities.

In addition to the role that it plays in establishing key spending priorities and programmatic initiatives, the DoD, like all other executive level departments, is able to exert some discretionary authority as it implements policies and programs passed into law by the Congress. Not surprisingly, given the traditions of the military services, the

DoD has tended to issue rules and regulations that reinforce the military hierarchy and favor those of higher rank across the services ("rank has its privilege") and those who have made a career commitment ("paid their dues").

Within the Services

The services differ in the priority given to housing investment (for new development as well as maintenance and operations) and in the use of discretionary authority in housing assignment policies (Defense Science Board, 1995; OASDP&R, 1993; Twiss & Martin, 1998). As noted above, the DoD issues rules and regulations. However, DoD has provided for significant discretionary authority in implementing housing guidelines to meet service specific needs as well as local needs.

Service-to-service differences in the prioritization of housing investment and the use of discretionary authority are not without rationale. There are significant differences in the characteristics of the members of the major services (CBO, 1989) and in their missions (House Subcommittee on Military Construction Appropriations, 1997; Twiss & Martin, 1997, 1998). These differences logically create support for different approaches to housing problems.

For comparative purposes, the Air Force and the Marine Corps represent what may be perceived as the two extremes (CBO, 1989). The Air Force depends more on high technology, seeks educated recruits from higher socio-economic backgrounds (CBO), and tries to keep more of its recruits as career force members. The Air Force has a greater proportion of its members among the officer ranks (Twiss & Martin, 1997). In its efforts to recruit and retain a highly skilled force, the Air Force has been at the forefront in offering space and privacy to its unaccompanied members and encouraging its more senior members, with greater economic resources, to live off base (Defense Science Board, 1995).

The Marine Corps, the smallest of the services, still depends more on ground forces engaged in physically challenging and high-risk activities. The Marine Corps seeks young people and only tries to retain a relatively small fraction of those it recruits into career status. A far greater proportion of Marine Corps members are *first termers* (Twiss & Martin, 1997, 1998). This service can be expected to provide on-base housing to more of its senior members and those committed to a career and to attempt to discourage its youngest recruits from forming families (cf., Weible, 1997). Service and mission differences are likely to continue to be important considerations in the design and implementation of military housing programs and should not be overlooked in policy studies (House Subcommittee on Military Construction Appropriations, 1997; Twiss & Martin).

"Let the Commanders Command"[2]: At the Installation Level

Yet another critical source of variation in housing supply and quality occurs at the base level, within the services. At this level, installation commanders are a significant factor. These military leaders make important decisions about the extent to which new development and/or maintenance operations receive sufficient attention. They also have significant discretionary power over the assignment of units within the installation (Defense Science Board, 1995; OASDP&R, 1993; and, cf. Willis, 1996, 1997). For example, before the most junior enlisted ranking military members were deemed eligible for military family housing, they could gain access to substandard base housing units at the discretion of the local commander (Defense Science Board, 1995; Smythe, 1994; Twiss & Martin, 1997). For this reason, Smythe noted that as substandard units are demolished to make way for new construction, junior enlisted personnel with families are more likely to lose access to military family housing.

Efforts to enact standards across the services and across locations that do not provide for discretion at the local level are likely to meet with significant resistance from those who carry command responsibilities. They may also be counterproductive in the housing arena. Installations exist within unique geographic contexts. Each neighboring community provides vastly different housing, health care, educational and other service supports to military members and their families. Some autonomy in housing planning at the local level is desirable (Twiss, 1996).

Two Major Housing Types

In addition to the factors outlined above, the literature makes it clear that understanding military housing requires separate examination of developments within the two major types of housing provided. Unaccompanied personnel housing and military family housing meet different housing needs and serve populations with differing housing and lifestyle preferences (cf., CBO, 1993; Defense Science Board, 1995).

Unaccompanied Personnel Housing (UPH)

New recruits in the military services have historically been, and continue to be, expected to be unmarried and free of familial financial responsibilities (OASDP&R, 1993; Baldwin 1993). The military has always been obliged to provide some minimal shelter for these single men and women, however rudimentary or harsh in form. This responsibility is rooted in the Constitution (Baldwin; Hartman & Drayer, 1990). Barracks and shipboard living arrangements offer minimal privacy and space and maximum exposure to rules and regulations during off-duty time (Defense Science Board, 1995). Dissatisfaction with these conditions has long plagued the services, but could be more easily ignored in the context of conscription, times of national emergency, and when enlisted personnel were expected to have short military careers.

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[2] In its recommendations on housing, the Task Force on Quality of Life (Defense Science Board, 1995) called for commanders to give special consideration to the housing needs of their junior enlisted personnel (grades E1-E3). An alternative view to this recommendation, offered by Subpanel member Chief Master Sergeant of the Air Force (Ret.) Sam E. Parish included these words in italics "Let the commanders command" (p. 55).

In the twenty-five years following the adoption of the All-Volunteer Force (AVF) concept, barracks or dormitory spaces—on-base unaccompanied personnel housing—received significant attention (Baldwin, 1993; Twiss & Martin, 1997, 1998). Moneys went into building new facilities and improving older ones; policies changed to provide more space and privacy for military members (Twiss & Martin; USCA, 1998). Yet, in 1995, 62% of this housing was classified as substandard and the backlog of needed maintenance, repair, and revitalization was approximately $9 billion (Defense Science Board, 1995).

The condition of this housing remains an important quality of life issue for the military services. Military members in the lower grades without families are expected to live in acceptable unaccompanied personnel housing (UPH) housing when it is available. Just less than one-third of the unaccompanied personnel across the services live off base, in private housing (House Committee on Appropriations, 1998), leaving the remaining approximately 70% in some form of military housing. Kerce's (1994) study of quality of life among marines found unmarried personnel reported greater dissatisfaction with their housing.

The Department of Defense and the services have committed themselves to upgrading the existing stock of UPH housing. Though privatization and housing allowance solutions are championed for military family housing, UPH housing is viewed differently. It is seen as important to military command and control, and acculturation to military life (Defense Science Board, 1996; Twiss & Martin, 1997, 1998). The military appears to want to keep the most junior of its unaccompanied enlisted members in military housing on base (Defense Science Board, 1995, 1996).[3] If the past is prologue, the civilian community may be equally desirous of housing these personnel on base.

Unaccompanied Personnel Housing: The Present and Future

Recent efforts to improve the UPH stock significantly reduced the percent classified as substandard—to 36%—and decreased estimates of the years of effort needed for revitalization (House Committee on Appropriations, 1998). Building new units and upgrading older UPH spaces to the most recently adopted construction standards for space and privacy is expensive, however (House Subcommittee on Military Construction Appropriations, 1997). In 1995, a new construction standard was adopted. The new module's construction costs were estimated to be approximately "$52,000 per space" (House Committee on Appropriations, 1996). The services are thus likely to continue pursuing multiple and differing solutions to their individual UPH problems, for example: (1) upgrading housing to alternative standards for space and privacy, (2) continuing to seek alternative management mechanisms. The Air Force has taken the lead, both in implementing the new construction standard and in making real privacy available to all of its unaccompanied members (Defense Science Board, 1995; House Subcommittee on Military Construction Appropriations; Twiss & Martin, 1998).

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[3] Legislative authority to privatize unaccompanied military housing exists but has not been aggressively pursued. One rationale for this is that dormitory style housing may be more difficult to successfully finance than multifamily housing. Housing allowances for unaccompanied personnel are smaller than those for military members with families and may not make privatization possible (House Subcommittee on Military Construction Appropriations, 1997).

Improvements in the UPH stock should continue—albeit at different rates of speed in the different services—provided there is continued pressure, within and outside of DoD to do so. A critical factor in the quality of this housing is its maintenance over time. Funds for operating and maintaining unaccompanied housing have not been fully protected from diversion elsewhere (Defense Science Board, 1995).

In terms of housing satisfaction, unaccompanied members without spouses or children are likely to continue to view their in-kind housing benefits as inequitable when compared to those of their *with dependents* colleagues. A key issue for unaccompanied personnel is privacy and their notion of privacy may include freedom from the traditions, rules and regulations imposed within military barracks or dormitories (Defense Science Board, 1995). Many unaccompanied personnel, if offered the opportunity and a housing allowance, would prefer to live off base. At least that is the case until or unless they have significant familial responsibilities. Family status is associated with housing preferences and demands. Monetary concerns press junior and mid-grade enlisted members with families, as well as junior officers with families (OASDP&R, 1993; Twiss & Martin, 1997). Men and women who at one time could not wait to move off base, once part of a family unit (traditional or nontraditional), may find themselves seeking on-base family housing.

Military Family Housing

The military's formal policy commitment to provide housing for families of other than officers is largely a 20th century phenomenon (Baldwin, 1993; OASDP&R, 1993). Over time, concern for families has been evidenced in policies that formally recognize the differential needs of military members with families (Albano, 1994; OASDP&R; Twiss & Martin, 1997, 1998). For example, military members with families receive higher housing allowances when living in private housing and are eligible for housing offering greater space and privacy when living in government housing on base (OASDP&R). Progress in addressing the housing needs of enlisted personnel with families has been slow. The most junior enlisted grades only became eligible for family quarters in the eighties and it was not until the nineties that access to military family housing began to equalize across grades (Twiss & Martin, 1997). It is important to note that military family housing shelters only approximately one third of the "with family" active duty force; most military families live off base in housing built and managed by the private sector.

This gradual shift in policy—opening access to military housing to all grades— is significant nonetheless. It reflects understanding of the changing nature of military service and the demographics of those serving (Baldwin, 1993; Twiss & Martin, 1997, 1998). The Department of Defense could not ignore the better than half of its members with families. Nor could it ignore the natural progression of those entering the service "without dependents" to service careerists "with dependents" (OASDP&R, 1993). The prolonged denial of military housing to junior enlisted families also makes it clear that military housing as a policy issue was (and is) not just about shelter: It is very much about the subjective value of the housing to military members (as a perquisite for commitment to a career, for example). While most military members live off base, and many—particularly more senior-ranking members and those financially able to own

their own homes—prefer to live in the private sector, the presence of on-base family housing remains an elusive yet potential reward of the future for some.

The demand for such housing is clear in high cost areas, where long waiting lists exist for on-base housing (CBO, 1993). Lower ranking military members unable to get on-base housing frequently select housing that is: too far from base; in relatively unsafe neighborhoods and/or in housing of relatively poor quality (OASDP&R, 1993; House Committee on Appropriations, 1998). They are then also more removed from on-base services and supports such as, childcare, shopping, and medical care (Segal, 1986; Twiss, 1996). One would think, given the demand for military housing, it would be of high quality. That is simply not the case for too much of the military family housing stock.

Approximately two-thirds of the existing stock of this housing was acquired in the fifties and sixties (Baldwin, 1993, 1996a; CBO, 1993). Today, military family housing is quite troubled. In the mid-nineties, the estimated cost for needed repairs and replacement stock was approximately $20 billion (Defense Science Board, 1995). A more recent Congressional report noted that over half of the inventory of family housing requires major improvements or replacement at an estimated total cost of approximately $15 billion. While the DoD consistently includes military family housing among its quality-of-life priorities, pressures to focus dollars elsewhere (e.g., modernization) and general budgetary restraint have supported a policy focus on privatization and improved military housing allowances as a means of easing the military out of the family housing business (Defense Science Board, 1996).

Military Family Housing: The Future

In 1996, legislation made available to the services a variety of tools through which to privatize military housing in the United States (PL 104-106; HRSO, 1996b). These tools have now been piloted. While the new authorities are not the only means the DoD has for renovating old and delivering new military family housing, privatization is a key element in the DoD's plans to upgrade family housing. This is consistent with budgetary pressures, ideological support for and prior experiences with privatization, as well as international developments. [For example, the United Kingdom sold its Married Quarters Estates to a private corporation amid controversy in the nineties (cf., Bishop, 1998; Defence Committee, 1996, 1997). Australia transferred responsibility for its family housing to a specialized housing authority in the late eighties, an authority owned by the Australian Commonwealth and able to produce housing through partnerships with private sector investors.] Recent U.S. legislation also attempted to make the structure of housing allowances more equitable and to tie these allowances more closely to local housing costs. These changes are generally in line with long-standing DoD policy to rely on the private sector to meet the needs of military families and could make privatization more tolerable to military members and their families.

A significant and enduring military family housing problem is likely to continue within the military services and within civilian communities. The housing needs and preferences of military members with families conflict with military traditions. Military family housing is most needed by the lowest ranking members with families, as it represents a significant income subsidy. Military tradition has favored providing

military family housing to those who have made a commitment to a military career and "paid their dues" or achieved a rank viewed as meriting privilege (Twiss & Martin, 1997, 1998). This has resulted in increased competition for low-income housing in the civilian housing market and substandard housing situations for lower-ranking military members with families (Comptroller General, 1979; Defense Science Board, 1995).

A Special Note: Housing Overseas

The majority of military members and their families live within the United States. As of June 30, 1998, approximately 18% of the active duty force (253,552 active duty military members) was in foreign countries—ashore or afloat (Directorate for Information Operations and Reports, 1998). Special problems confront military members living overseas, whether unaccompanied or accompanied. In general, the housing situation for members stationed overseas is a difficult one, whether they are in housing provided by the U.S. government or private sector housing in the civilian community (Defense Science Board, 1995). Housing for military members living overseas is affected by international relations, the laws and customs of host nations, as well as Congressional interest in keeping military construction dollars flowing within the United States and "buy and construct American" policies (Defense Science Board; Hartman & Drayer, 1990).

Future Research:
Unintended Consequences and Intersecting Policy Arenas

As military housing policy decisions are considered and implemented, numerous issues emerge for study. Most studies of military housing characterize it as a financial burden for the country (CBO, 1993; General Accounting Office, 1996). Little consideration is given to its (1) role in creating or sustaining a military community on base; (2) role in easing the stresses and unique demands of military life; and, (3) relationship to other policy arenas (such as national housing and community development policies, education, and health care policies).

A Military Community

Military housing is part of both a *built community*—facilitating access to institutionalized services, supports, and markets, and a *human community*— that involves formal and informal communication and exchange (Bowen & Martin, 1998; Twiss, 1996). The on-base community notably also has its own security force and is perceived to be a relatively safe community. Living on base may facilitate a unique lifestyle and sense of community fostered by neighbors and co-workers sharing experiences and values (Smythe, 1994; Walker, 1995). Anecdotal accounts, media stories, and Congressional testimony from military members and their spouses indicate that this is of value to military members. *Empirical work is needed to assess the extent to which this is true, whether it is more or less important to military members at specific points in their careers and/or for those in particular military specialties, and whether the presence or absence of a "sense of community" among military members has any bearing on readiness or retention* (Twiss & Martin, 1997, 1998).

A Demanding Calling

The military is a unique and demanding career choice (Segal, 1986). Deployment and frequent relocation are typical military stressors, but all military members do not equally share them. Housing problems may be associated with other problems of living, for example, lack of needed supports and services for family members (Paulus, Nagar, Larey, & Camacho, 1996)—all of which may be especially distressing to deployed and/or frequently relocated military members and their families. Military housing should thus be studied in its fullest context, in relationship to military career variables as well as military and civilian community variables.

Intersecting Policies

Military housing affects, and is affected by, a complex web of civilian and military policies. Attention should be focused on the intersection of DoD housing policy and national housing policy, specifically in relationship to access to affordable housing (Comptroller General, 1979; Twiss & Martin, 1997, 1998). For example, as more single personnel gain eligibility to move off base, civilians and military families with children may experience increased competition for quality civilian housing. This does not argue for keeping single members on base; it highlights a potential unintended policy consequence.

Military housing policies also affect education programs. The private development of Patriot Village for the Air Force (an on-base community owned by a private developer and leased back to the Air Force) for example, had the unintended effect of diminishing federal impact aid for the local school district (Lipchitz, 1998). Lipchitz noted that such an unfortunate outcome, if repeated, could strain military-civilian relations and would certainly not benefit military families, their children, or surrounding civilian communities.

Future Research Methods

Investigations in all of these areas would benefit from longitudinal designs focused on the changing needs of military members across life and career stages (Studying Families, 1997). Some assessment of the subjective value of housing and its meaning for military members would also be beneficial. To that end, studies that consider the qualitative aspects of housing satisfaction (Smythe, 1994) and lifestyle associated with different living arrangements, that include in-depth interviews with military members and their families as well as field observations on and off base, would be welcome additions to the literature. However expensive and time-consuming, such studies would yield a deeper understanding of the role housing plays in military and civilian life.

THE FUTURE OF MILITARY HOUSING

Annotated Bibliography

Army Personnel Survey Office, U.S. Army Research Institute. (1996, May). *1995 Survey of Army families III, Executive Summary.* Alexandria, VA: Author.

This survey focused on the impact of changes in the demands of military life (particularly increased PERSTEMPO). Its goal was to develop data on current family issues and the characteristics of Army families. The method employed was that of a mailed survey, sent to Army spouses in early January of 1995. The initial sample was a stratified, proportional sample of 33,000 spouses of active duty soldiers (with an oversampling for male spouses and families stationed in Europe). The response rate was 48%, with 12,561 included in the analysis, weighted to reflect the actual number of civilian spouses in each rank in the Army (for a total of 292,371). The authors noted that junior enlisted personnel were underrepresented; the study may disproportionately represent the views of senior-level soldiers and their spouses.

The survey included a number of items related to housing and neighborhood: the type of housing lived in (on or off base, rental or owned); satisfaction with that housing; concerns about the costs of the housing; concerns about community conditions, including crime; and the type of housing desired (on or off base, rental or owned).

Findings included: 44.3% desired on-post government housing and 39.6% desired to own their own housing off base; only 7.5% wanted a rental off base, 7.2% wanted off-base government housing, and 1.4% reported a desired housing option classified as *other.* Those most satisfied with their housing appeared to be either home owners or those living in on-base government family housing, although close to one third of those in on-base housing reported wanting to own their own homes. Among those renting housing off base, roughly 48% desired on-base government housing and 29% would most like to own their own home off base. Financial concerns were apparent, with half of those renting off base and 33% of home owners living off base concerned about their housing costs. Approximately one fourth of the spouses reported concerns about neighborhood issues, including crime, traffic, housing maintenance, drugs security and the quality of the schools.

The study is valuable and has obvious policy implications. The data clearly indicate that military family housing is a desirable commodity for military families, whether purely for economic necessity, access to supports and services, or for other reasons. A sample more representative of junior enlisted families would be beneficial.

Baldwin, W. C. (1993). *A history of Army peacetime housing.* **Alexandria, VA: U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Office of History.**

This historical essay provides a useful history of military housing during times of peace. Using typical history research methods and making use of the Army's primary documents on housing, this study succinctly outlines the cyclical nature of military housing. While focused on the Army, the essay should be useful to anyone interested in military housing history and contemporary military housing policy. Because the study is a history, military housing developments are placed within a meaningful context (for example, the role of the military in society, social and political forces at work within the nation, and international developments).

The findings include:
- the greatest periods of growth in the stock of military family housing occurred under privatization efforts in the past, particularly in the fifties and sixties,
- privatization was most beneficial in the delivery of housing, not the maintenance and management of the housing post-production.

The author also argues that military housing programs have fared better when handled within the Department of Defense and not packaged as part of other national housing programs. Scandals that affected programs serving civilians are argued to have negatively affected programs successfully serving military families.

Baldwin, W. C. (1996a). *Four housing privatization programs: A history of the Wherry, Capehart, Section 801, & Section 802 family housing programs in the Army.* **Alexandria, VA: U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Office of History.**

This study is presented in two essays. Each essay builds upon Baldwin's 1993 "A History of Army Peacetime Housing." The author presents—through methods familiar to historians and with reliance on primary documents—a timely and useful history of the military's use of privatization programs. Baldwin elaborates on earlier findings and presents a much more detailed description of the successes and failures of prior privatization initiatives. For those interested in contemporary military housing program development, the implications of the study should be clear. These essays provide a framework within which contemporary privatization efforts can be viewed. Problems with the privatization of housing maintenance functions can be anticipated, for example. Difficulties engaging private developers in producing housing affordable to junior and mid-grade enlisted families (on the basis of their allowances) can also be anticipated. As in the case of the 1993 study, Baldwin presents the privatization programs of the past in context; the choices made can be understood given the political, international, social and economic developments of the day.

Barff, R. (1992). Living by the sword and dying by the sword? Defense spending and New England's economy in retrospect and prospect. In A. Kirby (Ed.), *The Pentagon and the cities* (pp. 77-99). Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

This book chapter reviews the history of the impact of defense spending on New England's economy. The author provides regional analysis of existing data on employment (by sector). For those interested in housing, perhaps the most salient portion of the chapter is found under the subheading "Defense Spending and Regional Multipliers: 1977-1984." Applying regional economic growth theory, the author speaks to an earlier developed hypothesis that employment growth in sectors other than manufacturing could be explained, in part by the region's ties with the military. Because the region's defense-related industries tended to be high-tech industries, a greater share of the cost of goods produced could be predicted to reimburse highly skilled laborers, who could then be expected to exhibit greater household spending. The regional multiplier effect of the defense spending in New England was hypothesized to be large and to especially affect the retail and housing sectors of the economy (in an already high-cost housing area, this development influencing growth in financial services). Nonmanufacturing sectors of the economy demonstrating the largest competitive effects in the period 1980-1984 (military build-up) included trade (primarily retail), construction (influenced by housing demand), and services. All three would be influenced by increased household income.

While this chapter focuses on the effects of defense spending, in general, rather than the specific impact of military bases/communities, it offers avenues for consideration in studying the role that military bases play in regional economies (particularly in the context of increased outsourcing of military support roles).

It would be interesting to see studies that look at the historic (and current) effects of military housing allowances (as a source of income) on local housing markets, compared to the increased availability of military housing on base. A common argument today is that allowances are a less expensive alternative for the nation than the provision of military housing. These analyses focus on Department of Defense costs, not the costs to civilians (in potentially higher rents, or higher local tax burdens) or the potential shifting of costs to other federal departments (e.g., through the provision of housing subsidies to those who qualify).

Congressional Budget Office (CBO). (1993, September). *Military family housing in the United States.* **Washington, DC: Author.**

In response to a request from Congress, the Congressional Budget Office (CBO) undertook this study to examine military family housing policy options. The purpose was twofold: to consider policy options that might be less expensive and to simultaneously protect the quality of life of military families. Using standard accounting and research practices typical for these studies, the CBO studied the history of military family housing in the United States, as well as the current status of the military family housing program. The CBO considered the following policy options: (1) maintaining the current percentage of families in DoD housing; (2) enforcing reliance on the private sector; (3) raising allowances and cutting basic pay; (4) reallocating allowances from low to high-cost areas; (5) instituting a rental market with the DoD.

Using data provided by the military offices responsible for management of the military housing stock, the study provides useful data on: (1) the acquisition history of military family housing; (2) the distribution of the housing within the United States, and who within the services are living in DoD housing; (3) anticipated future costs of maintaining this housing; and, (4) potential policy choices for the future.

Among its unique findings:
- military family housing *is* concentrated in areas in which there are high concentrations of military members (in seven states in the U.S.) and *is not* overrepresented in either high cost or more isolated areas of the country;
- while officers and senior enlisted members have enjoyed proportionately greater access to military housing in the past, the largest proportion (and far greater absolute numbers) of those living in on-base family housing today are those in grades E4 to E6.

One of the more controversial of the report findings is that the annual average long-run costs of DoD housing are higher than the cost of military allowances and out-of-pocket military housing costs.

This report is a valuable source for a variety of data and background information on military family housing in the United States. As is the case with other reports issued by the CBO and the GAO, the work is limited by the request initiated by Congress. A focus on cost was important to Congress, and that is apparent in the report. While a number of statements are made about attachments military members may have to living on base, no data are provided on these subjective factors.

Defense Science Board Task Force on Quality of Life (1995). *Quality of Life, Final report.* **Washington, DC: Office of the Secretary of Defense, The Pentagon.**

Chaired by the Honorable John O. Marsh, Jr., the Defense Science Board Task Force on Quality of Life was charged with studying military housing, personnel tempo, and community and family services. The final report offers recommendations to the Secretary of Defense related to these areas. Methods used in compiling the data for the report included: using research conducted by government and private organizations, site visits, interviews and "town meetings." A list of 29 sites visited in the United States, Pacific Theater and European Theater is included as an appendix.

This report offers a rich source of data on military members and their families, the stresses unique to their lives; the services and supports available to them, and their satisfactions and dissatisfactions with military life. A chapter is devoted to military housing, both for unaccompanied members and those with family members.

The findings include:
- approximately two-thirds of both the unaccompanied and family housing stock are in need of repair or replacement;
- it would cost approximately $9 billion to bring unaccompanied personnel housing to acceptable standards;
- it would cost approximately $20 billion (and take many years) to bring military family housing to acceptable standards.

Among its more controversial recommendations is a proposed military housing authority, a nonprofit entity that would operate much as Australia's housing authority does. The report fulfills its original purpose, offering valuable data on military quality of life issues and discussion of the barriers that have been encountered in the housing delivery system as well as inequities resulting from present policies.

Forster, W. R. (1997). *The determinants of the housing choices of military families: Implications for military policy.* **Master's thesis, Air Force Institute of Technology, Wright-Patterson AFB, OH.**

This thesis creates and tests a model for examining and predicting military family housing choices. The author used existing data, from the *1992 Surveys of Officer and Enlisted Personnel and Their Spouses*, weighted to reflect 1997 force structures. A multinomial logit model was used to analyze the data. Specific policy questions identified in the study were: (1) Would changing military pay affect housing choices? (2) Would changing tour length affect military housing choices? and (3) What impact would eliminating transaction costs (for home purchases) have on housing choices? The model for housing choice developed included the following independent variables, based on a review of the literature: officer/enlisted status; service; racial and ethnic differences; crime rating, military housing availability; civilian housing availability; number of dependents; spouse's income; military member's income; and, tenure choice user cost.

The findings from the study are interesting. The model worked well. The author notes that: "When the probabilities [of a housing choice, to own, rent or live on base] are calculated for the *average* respondent, the predicted probabilities. approximate the actual percentages of on base, renter, and owner couples in the 1997 military" (Forster, 1997, p. 29, note added). With respect to key study questions, Forster's study offers strong monetary support for lengthening tours of duty; more families would choose to purchase private sector housing. As the author notes himself, further research could add variables related to the quality of the housing military members live within, their satisfaction with that housing, and career decisions (retention).

General Accounting Office. (GAO) (1989, June). *Housing allowances equity issues for certain military members* **(GAO/NSIAD-89-134). Washington, DC: Author.**

This study was mandated legislatively, through the DoD Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1998 and 1989. The scope of the research was to examine equity issues associated with military housing allowances for dual career (dual service) military married members and divorced military members. The study focused in particular on those in grades E4-E6 married Navy couples assigned to sea duty and those in grades E7 and higher assigned to sea duty who were responsible for child support and living in government quarters. After reviewing existing policies, relevant studies and literature, the GAO found that the housing allowance system was complex and offers varying benefits to different members of the services. Perhaps more importantly, the GAO found that opinions varied as to whether the different treatment of various military members was equitable or fair and altering the system in previously recommended ways could serve to "magnify perceived inequities for other groups" (p. 2).

Both this study, as well as the 1986 GAO study on military housing allowances, are valuable references on the history of the military housing allowance system. The military compensation and benefit system is, indeed, complex and these studies help to demystify the allowance system. They provide insights into changes that have been made over time and efforts the DoD has undertaken to balance multiple interests and meet varying, sometimes conflicting policy goals (e.g., treating all equally within ranks while attempting to recognize differential and special needs of families).

General Accounting Office (GAO). (1996, September). *Military family housing: Opportunities exist to reduce costs and mitigate inequities* **(GAO/NSIAD-96-203). Washington, DC: Author.**

The purpose of the study was to fulfill a Congressional request made of the GAO. The request was for the GAO to review the military family housing program's cost effectiveness and assess whether the program provides equal housing benefits to all military members. The method employed was typical for such studies: interviewing responsible agency personnel; reviewing appropriate policies and procedures and documents related to both housing allowances and housing management; and visiting select military housing sites. The GAO analyzed detailed housing data from a judgmental sample of 24 installations representing different services, locations and types of housing available. Eight installations were visited, two from each service. Findings included: DoD's policy of relying on the private sector to provide housing to military families is cost effective; military family housing is more expensive than the cost of providing allowances; estimates of civilian housing availability used by the DoD are inaccurate; inequities in housing benefit do exist; and, greater use of private sector housing would reduce inequities in housing benefit. The policy implications of the study are evident; the study supports the current privatization/outsourcing policy direction of the DoD with little regard for issues other than cost. The lack of attention to other quality of life issues related to housing is striking and the chief weakness of the study, but the GAO should not be critiqued for failing to address issues it was not asked to address. The study fulfills its purpose in focusing on cost. With regard to comparing military housing and the cost of allowances, however, it should be noted that no distinction was made between military housing that is fairly new and/or rehabilitated, and housing that was built in the fifties and in serious need of renovation, nor historic units.

Hartman, C. & Drayer, R. (1990). A research note: Military-family housing: The other public housing program. *Housing and Society, 17,* **67-78.**

This journal article presents an overview of military family housing as a special form of public housing. The article reviews the history of military family housing (using primary and secondary sources), the mechanisms by which military housing has been financed, developed, delivered and managed, and selected social aspects of on-base military communities. The article highlights ways in which the financing of military housing differs from other forms of public housing. It also attends to unique and distinctive features of military communities, for example: rank-based segregation; the elimination of racial segregation by fiat; and the availability of housing on a first-come, first-served basis, within ranks. This article provides a succinct and useful review of the recent past in military housing construction and management and places it within the context of all national housing policy. It highlights problems that have occurred with prior privatization initiatives (e.g., Wherry and Capehart), and discusses the privatization initiatives of the eighties, in brief. Unfortunately, the article does not place military housing development within a social, economic, and political context. The provision of military housing thus appears to be an aberration in the history of U.S. housing policy, an entitlement to shelter in a nation that offers no such entitlement to its other citizens. The cyclical nature of Congressional and Defense Department support for and prioritization of resources for military housing is not readily apparent in the article, nor is the guns versus butter battle (modernization vs. quality of life) that occurs within the Department of Defense emphasized. The authors did not foresee the possibility that the military would seek to "get out of the housing business" in a few years.

Hershfield, D. C. (1985, January). Attacking housing discrimination: Economic power of the military in desegregating off-base rental housing. *American Journal of Economics and Sociology, 44,* 23-28.

This study examined the impact of military anti-discrimination housing policies. Specifically, it looked at variables associated with the military's success in opening racially-closed rental housing. The sample included 122 military bases outside of California and the Washington, DC area. These bases were grouped into 89 nonmetropolitan counties or standard metropolitan statistical areas (for data on requisite military, economic, and social variables). Based on military surveys of these areas conducted in the sixties, each of the areas included in the study had at least 25 off-base housing facilities (and a minimum of a single landlord) stating the housing would not be rented to non-White military personnel. A regression analysis was used with the percent of non-open facilities converted to open status as the dependent variable. Independent variables included in the analysis included: (1) administrative monitoring of base commander's progress; (2) economic power of the military in the local area; (3) local attitudes toward African-Americans; and (4) the condition of the local housing market.

The regression equation explained 45.3% of the variance in the percentage of previously closed housing subsequently opened to all races. As stated by the author, the "economic power of the military was the most important explanation of success in persuading landlords to list their facilities as open to military personnel of all races" (pp. 27-28). The findings have obvious implications for policymakers. The economic value of the military as a local employer and source of customers can be used as a significant source of power in fighting discrimination in communities with a large military presence.

Kerce, E. W. (1994). *Quality of life in the U.S. Marine Corps* **(Report No. NPRDC TR-94). San Diego, CA: Navy Personnel Research and Development Center.**

By far one of the most comprehensive studies of quality of life in any of the services, this study provides a conceptual framework for examining the issue in detail. Using survey methods, a representative sample of active duty marines was randomly selected for inclusion in the study (stratified by location and pay grade, and excluding E1s). Questionnaires were administered on site by personnel assigned to that task and provided with lists of identified sample members; marines assigned to remote or small installations received their questionnaires by mail. The sample of respondents included 8644 who completed questionnaires on site (83% of those selected), plus 1681 who completed questionnaires by mail (36% of those mailed). The sample was fairly representative of Marine Corps members except in the area of race/ethnicity, with a larger percentage of Hispanic respondents and a smaller percentage of African-American respondents compared to the population.

Findings in the study indicate that objective and subjective assessments of quality of life are appropriate to study in relation to career decisions and readiness in the military. That is, quality of life should be an important consideration for the military services. Of particular importance to those interested in military housing issues is the material on the residence and neighborhood domain, their relationship to global quality of life, and the analysis of quality of life in relation to readiness and retention decisions. Unmarried personnel evidenced greater dissatisfaction with their housing than married personnel; this dissatisfaction was related to global quality of life, which had a direct relationship to both readiness and reenlistment. Though focused on the Marine Corps, the conceptual framework offered has obvious potential for use within the other services.

Lakhani, H. (1994). The socioeconomic benefits to military families of home-basing of armed forces. *Armed Forces & Society, 20,* 113-128.

The purpose of the study was to assess the direct (to the spouses of soldiers) and the indirect benefits (to the Army) of a home-basing strategy. The study was unobtrusive in nature, relying on the analysis of existing data. Databases used were the 1987 Survey of Army Families (n= 12,000) and the 1989 Army Family Research Program Soldier Data File Code Book for soldiers (n= 11,000). The soldier data were reported to be representative of the Army population on the basis of marital status of soldiers by rank. Comparisons of nine types of socioeconomic benefits for CONUS and OCONUS were accomplished through the use of t-tests and the author hypothesized three behavioral equations for socioeconomic benefits.

The findings showed that Army soldiers and their families are likely to enjoy direct benefits in a home-basing scenario and that CONUS locations offered superior benefits for military spouses. Variables included in the study were: spouses' problems finding employment, the existence of spouse employment, spouse earnings, home ownership, spouse satisfaction with Army life, satisfaction with housing, number of nights the spouse is away from home, worry over family safety when the spouse is away, and satisfaction with quality time spent with children.

The author hypothesized that additional savings could emerge from dollars spent on childcare as well as training costs (with increased re-enlistment). The implications for policy and practice are clear: the article offers support for home-basing, specifically in CONUS locations. The author appropriately notes that the policy may have unintended negative consequences worth investigating, as well. For example, he notes that those with fewer financial means may remain in base housing under a policy of home-basing, creating "on-base, housing ghettos". In calling attention to this potential issue, he opens the door to consideration of other important variables, among these, increased demands placed on civilian sector resources (formal and informal) and the role of the military community within the civilian community as the two become increasingly interdependent.

Martin, J. A. & Orthner, D. K. (1989). The company town in transition: Rebuilding military communities. In G. L. Bowen & D. K. Orthner (Eds.), *The organization family: Work and family linkages in the U.S. military* **(pp. 163-177). New York: Praeger Publishers.**

This book chapter is unique in perspective and content and is recommended and included as an exemplar here for its conception of the on-base military community as a specialized form of the "company town". Using existing academic studies in a variety of areas, including social welfare history, the authors examine the parallels between the development of the on-base military community and the company towns of the 19th and early 20th centuries. This is an appropriate comparison, not only given the way in which the on-base military community operates today, but given their synchronous historic development. The authors comment on the extent to which the on-base community involves significant economic and social control over the lives of military members and raise questions about the appropriateness of continuing this form of community in an ever changing social and economic context.

For those interested in housing, this book chapter is important because it highlights two aspects of military housing that are frequently neglected. First, the chapter makes it clear that military housing is an in-kind social welfare benefit that would typically be classified by social welfare historians as occupational welfare, a benefit accrued through employment with a specific employer that betters one's status. Second, it makes it clear that the provision of housing (its ownership and operation) can be a serious form of social control (with positive and negative implications). The authors stress the negative implications and do not discuss the varying quality of life afforded those living in different company towns. The central points the authors make are nonetheless very important. When the landlord also controls your income he controls your well-being. Employer provided housing, as an in-kind occupational benefit, is extremely rare in the United States, and the military stands out as an exception in this regard.

Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense Personnel and Readiness [OASDP&R] (1993). *Family status and initial term of service, Vol. II - Trends and indicators.* **Washington, DC: Author.**

Commissioned by the Secretary of Defense, this study's purpose was to examine the problems and special issues faced by first term enlistees. They examined areas such as: special problems and issues posed by marriage among first term enlistees; whether military policies encourage marriage among first termers; whether existing counseling and support programs address the problems and issues of first termers; and whether marriage among first termers affects readiness. Among the methods used were: examination of previously conducted, relevant studies, creation of special databases by the Defense Manpower Data Center and visits to major bases of all four major services. Researchers conducted structured meetings to gather relevant information from senior and junior commanders, single and married first termers, spouses of first termers, single parent first termers and dual military marriage first termers.

Volume two is noteworthy for its thorough coverage of the history of a variety of programs and policies that support military members and their families. This volume (and accompanying volumes) also includes a wealth of both qualitative and quantitative data on first term enlistees that should be of interest to anyone concerned about the special problems of junior enlisted members and their families. Finally, chapter seven of the volume includes summaries of relevant research on family adaptation to military life. Combining qualitative and quantitative data sources and using multiple methods (analysis of secondary data and review of literature) yields a very useful and thorough report on the life and status of first term enlistees and their families.

Parker, R. E. & Feagin, J. R. (1992). Military spending in free enterprise cities: The military-industrial complex in Houston and Las Vegas. In A. Kirby (Ed.), *The Pentagon and the cities* (pp. 100-125). Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Like the book chapter by Barff (1992), the purpose of this chapter was to examine in some depth the impact of defense and defense-related spending on economic growth. This chapter was included as an exemplar of a case study of two particular cities, rather than a region (specifically Houston and Las Vegas). Using a variety of data sources, the authors describe the economic impact of defense spending on these two very different cities. Their findings include that defense spending had significant and quite different economic and spatial effects on the two cities, easier to quantify in one case than the other. For those interested in housing and community development, the chapter is helpful in making clear the impact the presence of the military and defense-related industries had on housing and service industry development, particularly, though not exclusively rental housing. This chapter and Barff (1992) make it clear that any consideration of policy changes affecting large numbers of military members and their families (for example housing) is likely to have repercussions in surrounding civilian communities that merit pre-planning consideration and evaluation when policies are being implemented. Including community-wide social indicators in such analyses would likely offer additional insights. As new public-private partnerships emerge for the financing, operation and maintenance of military housing, through privatization, it would be helpful to see inquiry into the economic and social impact of these developments on surrounding areas.

Paulus, P. B., Nagar, D., Larey, T. S., & Camacho, L. M. (1996). Environmental, lifestyle, and psychological factors in the health and well-being of military families. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 26* (23), 2053-2075.

The purpose of this study was to examine a variety of stressors (environmental variables) experienced by young Army families, including housing and lifestyle problems in relationship to well-being. It was anticipated that housing problems and lifestyle problems would be related to morale. The sample included enlisted military members (grades E1 to E4) with families living off base. From a prior study's sample of 427 renters, 268 of which volunteered for this more in-depth survey on Army life, 169 provided data for this study. Complete data for 168 enlisted soldiers and 146 of their spouses were obtained. Sixty-six percent of these families were living in mobile homes and the rest were in rental housing.

Data were collected through two surveys, administered on-site, at the residences of the participants. The first was a housing survey of one adult member of the household. In a second visit to the residents, both military members and spouses were asked to complete an Army Life Survey. This latter survey included a section on "daily problems." The daily problem items were subsequently divided, following factor analysis, into "housing problems" and "lifestyle problems." It is important to note that "lifestyle problems" included finances, lack of childcare, lack of recreation, and availability of needed services, among other items. The items labeled "housing problems," included the quality of the housing, crime, noise, privacy, neighbors, and the neighborhood. The authors acknowledge that these measures were designed to tap objective facets of housing directly, not the subjective reaction of residents to their housing. Findings included that there were statistically significant, but relatively small correlational relationships among housing measures and health and well-being measures. Housing problems and lifestyle problems were significantly correlated for enlisted personnel ($r = .61$, $p < .01$) as well as for spouses ($r = .52$, $p. < .01$). When the variables were entered into regression analyses, lifestyle problems predicted morale, well-being, symptoms, and harmony (positive or negative social activities) for enlisted personnel and their spouses.

This study provides a useful conceptual framework for the study of housing and military life. Finding that housing problems and lifestyle problems were related should not be a surprise, given the interrelationship of income, housing costs, and financial well-being. As the authors note, inclusion of some subjective appraisal of housing and its role in the lives of military families would be helpful.

House Subcommittee on Military Construction Appropriations. (1973-1997). Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

House Subcommittee on Military Installations and Facilities. (1997-1998). Hearings before a Subcommittee of the House Armed Services committee of the 106th Congress and the Committee on National Security in the 105th Congress. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

These government documents are recommended as a rich source of information on military housing policy. They are also a rich source of data on (1) the views of military members and their families regarding military housing, (2) the views of DoD representatives, (3) the unique and frequently differing views of the separate services, and (4) the views of Congressional representatives interested in military housing. The testimony of representatives from all of these areas and data they enter into the record of testimony in the form of appendices are also valuable sources of material for researchers. The appropriations hearings include data on the housing stock, proposed housing policies and programs, specific construction projects proposed, as well as perceptions regarding quality of life in the military. Since passage of the 1996 military housing privatization authorities, the Department of Defense's Housing Revitalization Support Office (HRSO) has made available select testimonies of officials reporting to the Congress through its internet home page (Available: http://www.acq. osd.mil/iai/hrso/testimonies).

Twiss, P. C. & Martin, J. A. (1997). *Quality of life and shelter: An overview of the history of military housing policy and initiatives since the adoption of the all-volunteer force concept (1973-1996),* (MFI Tech. Rep. 97-3). Scranton, PA: Military Family Institute, Marywood University.

Twiss, P. C. & Martin, J. A. (1998). *Quality of life and shelter: A history of military housing policy and initiatives (1973-1996),* (MFI Tech. Rep. 98-1). Scranton, PA: Military Family Institute, Marywood University.

These two technical reports examine the history of military housing policies and initiatives since the inception of the All-Volunteer Force concept. Using methods familiar to history, the authors relied on primary documents, secondary documents, and key informant interviews. The first report presents an overview and an appendix comprised of data on military force characteristics over time, monthly pay over time, and housing allowances over time.

The findings include:
- Significant efforts have been made to improve the quality of life of men and women in the Armed Forces in relationship to housing for both single and married personnel.
- Changes in policy have occurred in relationship to changing force dynamics.
- Over time the Department of Defense and the services have attempted to balance competing interests, among these a desire to equalize housing benefits within ranks, to attend to the different needs of families (e.g., more space for growing families, larger housing allowances for members with families), and to accommodate and continue a tradition of rewarding commitment to a career with added benefits ("Rank has its privilege").
- Inequities in housing benefits do clearly exist.

The report concludes with recommendations for variables and issues to consider in future studies of military housing. Particular emphasis is placed on attention to objective and subjective aspects of housing and satisfaction with military housing policies. As a contemporary history, the report offers no tests of its hypotheses or data analyses related to these recommendations. It does provide a conceptual framework within which housing may be studied in the future.

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TRANSITION INTO THE MILITARY: ISSUES FOR THE JUNIOR ENLISTED AND JUNIOR OFFICER MEMBERS AND FAMILIES

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Introduction

The last twenty-five years have been a time of changing demographics for the U.S. military. This change is evident in the growing proportion of married military junior enlisted personnel and their families (Cooke & Behun, 1991; Scarville & Dunivin, 1993). With the introduction of the All-Volunteer Force (AVF) in 1973, the military began to make policy changes that have influenced reenlistment decisions and retention rates of enlisted personnel. These changes, such as longer first term enlistment contracts and an increase in both time in service and time in grade, have resulted in an increasing rate of marriage and children, especially among those in their first term of service (Quester & Adedeji, 1991). While most enlisted personnel are single when they enter the military, many will marry and begin forming a family during their first term of enlistment (Cooke & Behun; Segal & Harris, 1993).

Early Research Efforts

During the eighties, the special needs of junior enlisted families began to receive attention from military researchers and policymakers. Lewis' (1986) paper was one of the first to highlight "various military life stresses which have significant and palpable effects on junior enlisted families" (p. 21). Her work drew attention to the role of small unit leaders and unit-based family support networks in the efforts to meet the needs of junior enlisted families. Since that time, researchers and policymakers have attempted to explore and define the characteristics of this group as well as any unique stressors that these young families face as they strive to meet the demands of both the military and their own adult and family developmental roles (Scarville & Dunivin, 1993).

Department of Defense Worldwide Surveys

In 1978, 1985 and 1992, the Department of Defense (DoD) conducted worldwide surveys of officer and enlisted personnel and their families; a fourth survey is planned for 1998. These surveys provide valuable information about the perceptions of military life among all military personnel, and especially among junior enlisted families. The 1985 DoD survey examined ten major content areas including how married, lower enlisted personnel (E1 to E6) and their civilian spouses perceived family and community life in the military. Lowman, Bowen and Janofsky (1987) examined a subset of Army enlisted personnel and their families. They reported that junior enlisted members (E1 to E4) were less satisfied with the military in general and with the military as a good place to raise a family than were middle grade enlisted soldiers (E5 to E6). Analysis of the 1992 DoD survey, for factors related to divorce, found that junior enlisted personnel who were divorced were more likely to perceive that the military had contributed to their divorce than senior enlisted service members (Aldridge, Sturdivant, Smith, Lago & Maxfield, 1997). Westat (1994a) examined the 1992 DoD data in relation to three topic areas: the military work environment, uncertainty and career choice, and retention issues. Junior enlisted members rated morale levels lower than did personnel in the other pay grades, had the least satisfaction with their jobs, and the greatest level of uncertainty. They were also more likely than those in higher ranks to report that their spouse wanted them to leave the military.

Issues for Junior Enlisted across the Services

Other studies conducted during the last fifteen years have further defined and clarified the issues for junior enlisted service members and their families. In regards to the need for social support as a mediator of stress, Rosen and Moghadam (1987) reported that Army junior enlisted wives' perceptions of perceived support were related to the degree and frequency of contact with another junior enlisted wife. Rosenberg (1992) further clarified this issue when she found that the social networks of first term Army wives exerted a stronger impact on their well-being and satisfaction with military life than did overall perceived social support.

Junior enlisted soldiers in the Army are more likely to report poorer emotional well-being and lower levels of marital satisfaction (Burnam, Meredith, Sherbourne, Valdez & Vernez, 1992). These findings were supported by data from the Army Family Research Program (1986-1991), which was a five year project that provided numerous research products related to five major research objectives (Bell, Scarville & Quigley, 1991). Findings related to junior enlisted personnel and their families indicated that junior enlisted Army families tend to experience more stress, and have more difficulty adapting regardless of their type of family arrangement (Bowen, Orthner, Zimmerman & Meehan, 1992). In a comprehensive assessment of the quality of life in the U.S. Marine Corps, junior enlisted personnel in the Corps were found to be similar to their Army counterparts in terms of having the lowest affective assessment and least positive feelings of self. They also reported the lowest level of satisfaction with marriage and intimate relationships (Baker, Robertson & Christiansen, 1996; Kerce, 1994). While low levels of emotional well-being and marital satisfaction may also be found among young adults in the civilian population, the issue remains as to whether

or not these scores represent a true lower score (dysfunction) or a tendency to score lower (a measurement issue).

The Needs of Junior Enlisted during Deployment

The Persian Gulf War provided an opportunity to examine how families coped with the stress of deployment into a hostile environment. Analysis of both the *1991/1992 Surveys of Total Army Personnel* (STAMP) and the *1992 DoD Surveys of Officers and Enlisted Personnel and their Spouses* found that junior enlisted families had more difficulty adapting than those in higher pay grades (Bell, Schumm, Elig, Palmer-Johnson & Tisak, 1993; Westat, 1994b). These surveys showed that junior enlisted service members worried more about their families than did senior enlisted personnel. In addition, their spouses reported that the Gulf War deployment had caused more problems than did more senior service members and their families. The Army Research Institute (ARI) surveyed pre-Gulf War and Gulf War-era active duty soldiers in order to examine attitudes toward the Army family support systems before and since the start of the Gulf War (Bell, Tiggle & Scarville, 1991). Their findings indicated that overall, Gulf War-era soldiers were better prepared for deployment than their counterparts a few years earlier. Consistent with other studies, junior enlisted soldiers worried more about family expenses, the safety of their families and the coping abilities of their spouses than more senior service members. Gulf War-era soldiers reported an increase in their perception of support available both informally and formally, than their pre-Gulf War peers (Bell et al.).

Operation Restore Hope (ORH), which involved the deployment of 28,000 service members to Somalia during 1993, provided the military with the opportunity to examine stressors for the service members and their spouses as well as whether support lessons learned during The Gulf War were incorporated into practice. Bell, Teitelbaum and Schumm (1996) conducted a field study at Fort Drum, New York, where approximately 10,000 Army soldiers were deployed to Somalia. While equal proportions of junior and senior enlisted spouses used informal and formal supports, junior enlisted spouses were more likely to view deployment and life events as extremely stressful. Overall, families were more positive about family support agencies than their Gulf War counterparts, although junior enlisted wives had lower confidence in Army supports and their own coping abilities as compared to spouses of senior enlisted or officers (Bell et al.).

Contradictory Findings

Over the years there have been some contradictory findings regarding junior enlisted personnel and their families. While some researchers observe that junior enlisted soldiers are more likely to use a wide range of community and family support services (Burnam et al., 1992), others report that this group is "least likely to be aware of the plethora of support services available to them" (Segal & Harris, 1993, p. 46). *The Survey of Army Families II* (SAF-II) conducted during 1991-1992 also found that junior enlisted personnel knew the least about the Army as an organization (Walter Reed Army Institute of Research, 1995).

The Department of Defense (DoD) has a vested interest in maintaining the most qualified service members. Several military researchers have found that those who are

married (or have dependents) at the time of reenlistment decisions are more likely to remain in the military than those who are single (Cooke & Behun, 1991; Quester & Adedeji, 1991). In contrast, Kerr (1997) examined a subset of Marine Corps enlisted members from the *1992 DoD Surveys of Officers and Enlisted Personnel and their Spouses* in order to investigate factors affecting retention for first and second term service members. Marital status was not found to be significant for any group except first term females who were married with children. These results contradict previous research and thus, encourage future studies to examine more closely the differences in retention behavior by marital status. For example, do these patterns differ among the various service branches as well as among service members of different marital status? In addition, questions need to be asked that will ascertain why service members decide to stay. Is it for the perceived benefits (pay, housing, medical care), or is it because those who reenlist are more committed to the military as a way of life?

The Impact of Early and Unplanned Pregnancies

As the number of women in the military has increased, more attention has been given to the issue of unplanned pregnancies and the effect of pregnancy on retention and readiness, especially among junior enlisted service members. Gerrard (1989) compared a group of women U.S. Marine Corps recruits with a group of women freshman college students and found that female marine recruits were more likely to be sexually active, less likely to use contraceptives and more likely to have a positive attitude about pregnancy. Royle and Thomas (1996) found that while only 8% of Navy enlisted women were pregnant at the time of data collection, 40-45% stated that their most recent pregnancy was unplanned. The authors note that Navy programs have many strengths, yet, they do not reach all young sailors and expansion of these efforts could have a major impact on the incidence of pregnancy among first term women.

Research Efforts Specific to the Needs of Junior Enlisted

The needs and concerns for junior enlisted service members and their families received further attention when in August 1993, the Secretary of Defense directed that a service-wide study be conducted which specifically focused on the issues associated with the first term of service (Department of Defense, 1993). This project was intended to address a wide range of issues and included four panels of study. Major findings were that there was "no statistically valid quantitative relationship, positive or negative, between marital status and readiness" and that the majority of service members "regardless of marital status or dependents, deploy when ordered" (p. 13). However, service members with dependents did report more problems getting ready for deployments. These findings need to be further investigated since no statistically significant difference does not necessarily mean that a difference does not exist but rather states that no difference was found in this study.

While marriage during the first term of service is not often viewed positively, service members perceived that a strong marriage was a factor in their long-term career decisions. Regarding the concerns and needs of young married service members, those who were married reported fewer performance and behavioral problems, yet when problems did occur they "tended to be more complex and much more time-consuming for commanders" (Department of Defense, 1993, p. 14). Although those who utilized support programs were generally satisfied with the services provided, concerns were

raised about those who did not take advantage of the available programs and their lack of information regarding these services. An area of great concern for many junior enlisted members was finances and the costs associated with housing.

Future Issues for Junior Enlisted Members and their Families

The past decade has been a period of tremendous change for the military services. The direction and pace of this change is likely to continue into the 21st century. There have been substantial force reductions and corresponding manpower downsizing in each branch of the service. Return of forces from Europe and Asia and two rounds of base closures in the United States have resulted in the consolidation of military forces in what has been referred to as *mega-bases* (Defense Science Board, 1996). These mega-bases have large concentrations of military personnel (and families) representing all branches in one geographic area. Tidewater Area/Norfolk, Virginia; Fayetteville, North Carolina; Fort Hood, Texas; San Diego, California; and Seattle, Washington, provide examples of this consolidation. Future research efforts will need to focus on the effects of these large mega-bases for junior enlisted personnel and their families. Concerns have already been raised about the limited awareness of support programs on the part of these young service members. As the installations become more centralized, research should focus on the utilization and usefulness of unit level support for these military members and their families.

Along with these structural changes there have been numerous social-demographic changes that have taken place within the military during the nineties. These changes are to be expected and mirror current and projected societal changes. The number of women recruits continues to increase as does the number of Blacks, Hispanics, and other minorities (Aldridge et al., 1997). Future research efforts should examine whether these changes in the composition of the force influence issues such as satisfaction with the military, family satisfaction, readiness and retention. Family development will continue to be an area of interest as trends in marriage within the military and child birth rates, including unplanned pregnancies are projected to have ramifications for readiness and retention into the 21st century.

As the military community has changed so has the nature of military benefits and compensation. Almost 70% of military families now reside in the civilian community and this percentage is likely to rise as the DoD continues to move toward housing more of its military families in the civilian community (DMDC, 1996-1997). The privatization of numerous installation support functions and military human service programs is transforming military life and the nature of the military community. Study after study (Defense Science Board, 1995, 1996; National Defense Panel, 1997) calls for a reduction of defense infrastructure to support the required cost of weapons modernization. These various Department of Defense commissions suggest the need to dismantle the traditional military installation with its array of personnel and family oriented services and programs in favor of enhanced pay and monetary benefits. While the dismantling seems to be underway, there is no indication that pay or monetary benefits will be increased enough to offset these diminished in-kind compensations and quality of life supports and services. Junior enlisted service members and their families frequently identify issues related to financial well-being, as well as family support services, as concerns. These young service members and their families have often been identified as the most vulnerable and thus, are most likely to be adversely

affected by these changes. Future research and policy efforts need to address the needs and concerns that will arise as a result of these structural changes within the military.

The final issue that is facing junior enlisted members and their families is the increasing number of deployments. Today's new recruits will mark their careers, not by the number of overseas tours they complete, but rather by the number of times they are deployed. Research efforts have already begun to examine the effects of frequent separations for the service members and their families. Junior enlisted personnel and their spouses have been found to be most affected by these deployments, and future research efforts will need to monitor the long-term effects on satisfaction with the military and retention decisions for these young service members.

For the new military members, this is not their "father's Army" (Navy, Marine Corps, Air Force). All of these changes represent potential military life stressors and the burden of this stress, as always, falls primarily on those who are most junior and who have the least access to formal and informal support. Military service will continue to provide an opportunity for personal growth and socio-economic advancement for many young adults. At the same time, it is likely to become an even more challenging life experience for junior enlisted members and their families. Military researchers and policymakers need to be proactive in their efforts to understand the needs and concerns of the junior enlisted members and their families as they are the future leaders for the 21st century military.

TRANSITION INTO THE MILITARY:
ISSUES FOR THE JUNIOR ENLISTED AND JUNIOR OFFICER MEMBERS AND FAMILIES

Annotated Bibliography

Aldridge, D. M., Sturdivant, T. T., Smith, C. L., Lago, J. A., & Maxfield, B. D. (1997). *Background and characteristics of military families: Results from the 1992 DoD Surveys of Officers & Enlisted Personnel & Military Spouses* **(Final Report 97-002). Arlington, VA: Defense Manpower Data Center.**

The 1992 Department of Defense Surveys of Officers and Enlisted Personnel was conducted in order to provide input for policies that relate to military families. This report presents a snapshot of the changing U.S. military force by providing a demographic profile of the service branches based on responses from a sample of 59,930 active duty military personnel. It also presents findings that can be used in formulating policy changes to reduce marriage and family problems. This report focuses on the following questions: how individual, military, and family demographic characteristics are interrelated; whether certain groups of service members move more frequently than others, or are more likely than others to be separated from their families; and whether some service members are more likely than others to blame military service for contributing to divorces and other family and marriage problems. Results regarding relocation patterns indicate that, for both enlisted personnel and officers, males and White service members moved more frequently due to a permanent change of station than females and those in other racial/ethnic groups. Junior enlisted personnel (E1 - E4) and junior officers (O1 - O3/W1 - W3) reported moving less often than those in higher pay grades. Overall, junior enlisted personnel who were divorced were more likely to believe that the military had contributed to their divorce. Male officers were more likely to blame the military for divorce than were female officers while there were no differences by gender for enlisted personnel. Black service members were less likely to blame military service for contributing to divorce than other racial/ethnic groups. The most important factor related to the perception of military service as being responsible for divorce was the length of time separated from family. Additional demographic data are provided. While the intent of this report was not to provide policy recommendations, findings can help identify factors that relate to combat readiness and retention rates. Policies need to be structured that pay attention to the special needs of service members and their families.

Bell, B. D. (1993). *Spouse support during peacekeeping missions: Lessons learned from Operation Restore Hope.* **Paper presented at the Ninth Annual NATO Stress Workshop, San Antonio, Texas.**

This report summarizes the findings from a field study and survey conducted in 1993 at Fort Drum, New York during Operation Restore Hope (ORH). ORH was a joint services Task Force involving about 28,000 military personnel from all four services. Most of the 10,000 Army soldiers who were deployed to Somalia came from Fort Drum. This research addressed issues about spouse support during deployment. Four research questions guided the data collection: 1) What stressors did spouses encounter during the mission? 2) What (Army and non-Army) psycho-social supports were used, and found to be helpful in reducing deployment-related stress? 3) What degree of success did the spouses and families achieve in coping with deployment and reunion stressors? 4) Were Operation Desert Shield/Storm (ODS/S) support lessons institutionalized at Fort Drum (and what additional changes might be needed)? Surveys were sent to 2,875 spouses of active duty soldiers (1,578 whose spouse was deployed and 1,297 who were not). Completed surveys were received from 992 spouses (42%). Several comparisons were made to findings from ODS/S. During ORH, equally high proportions of junior enlisted and career Army spouses used informal and formal social supports. Junior enlisted spouses were more likely to view deployment and "life events" as extremely stressful. They were also less likely to find Army information support resources helpful, had fewer family strengths, and coped less well during reunion.

Bell, D. B., Schumm, W. R., Elig, T. W., Palmer-Johnson, C. E., & Tisak, J. (1993). *Helping Army families cope with deployments: Lessons learned from Desert Storm.* **Paper presented at the 101st Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association, Toronto, Canada.**

This paper reports the results of a subsample of the 1991/1992 Surveys of Total Army Personnel (STAMP). The subsample contained several hundred married active duty male soldiers who were deployed to Southwest Asia for Operation Desert Shield/Storm (ODS/S) and included enlisted personnel in the ranks of E3 - E9 and officers in the ranks W1 - O6. The overall response rate of active duty personnel for the STAMP surveys was 49.5%. The purpose of the paper was to examine how elements of the ABC-X model of stress predicted family adaptation. Family adaptation (factor X) was seen as a function of a pile-up of demands/stressors concerning deployment (factor A), personal and social coping resources (factor B), and perceptions of the overall situation, often called coherence (factor C). The best predictor of family adaptation during ODS/S was the soldier's report of family adaptation prior to the deployment. Rank was related to family management among enlisted personnel but not among officers. Scores were very low among junior enlisted as compared to senior enlisted members. Junior personnel in both the enlisted and officer groups tended to worry more about their families than the more senior members. Belief that the Army was concerned about the welfare of its soldiers during ODS/S was related to improved family management and reduced soldier anxiety for both rank groups. The authors note that the most notable implication from this study is that the best time to assist families in preparing for deployment is prior to deployment and that soldiers with less experience and rank may need more family support.

Bowen, G. L., Orthner, D. K., Zimmerman, L. I., & Meehan, T. (1992). *Family patterns and adaptation in the U.S. Army* (Tech. Rep. 966). Alexandria, VA: U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences.

This report summarizes a subset of data collected from a random sample of 11,035 active duty Army personnel during the Army Family Research Program (1986-1991). It focuses on the 7,524 married and single parents who were part of the larger sample. Data is provided on four types of families: civilian wife marriages, civilian husband marriages, dual military marriages and single parenthood. Statistical analysis compared soldiers across gender and pay grades on several variables: work stress, family stress, psychological strengths, marriage and family strengths, social and community resources, leadership support, coping and adjustment, and Army-family fit. Demographic analysis found that the rank/pay grade of soldiers in the sample varied across the family pattern subgroups with the most notable differences in family patterns occurring among junior enlisted personnel. Results indicated that junior enlisted soldiers tended to experience more stress (e.g., work stress, high family demands, and financial hardship) and have more difficulty adapting (e.g., lower self-esteem, less control over their lives, and less positive views of their marriages) irrespective of their type of family arrangement. Recommendations for service providers include the need for relationship support programs and family support services, especially those targeted for junior enlisted families. Additional recommendations for education and training as well as for commanders, supervisors and manpower personnel are included.

Burnam, M. A., Meredith, L. S., Sherbourne, C. D., Valdez, R. B., & Vernez, G. (1992). *Army families and soldier readiness* **(R-3884-A). Santa Monica, CA: The RAND Corporation, Arroyo Center.**

This report presents data from a 1987 Army survey of more than 6,000 soldiers and 3,100 spouses conducted at 23 installations of different sizes, unit missions, and locations in the United States, Germany and Korea. Young recruits (E1 and E2) as well as those living at installations with fewer than 1,000 military members were excluded from the sampling frame. The response rate for the survey was 71%. This survey collected quantitative data on three key areas: soldiers' individual readiness, their use of family services, and their overall well-being. Higher rank is consistently associated with greater readiness after controlling for other individual and environmental factors. Junior enlisted members are more likely to lose duty time or to be absent for an alert or deployment. They also reported being less involved in their Army careers. Rank was not significantly related to perceptions of spouse self-sufficiency. Rank plays a significant role in the odds and frequency of family service use even after adjustment for other personal and Army work environment and practices. Junior enlisted members were much more likely to use a wide range of services including financial assistance, medical services, mental health care, and counseling than were senior enlisted personnel. Junior enlisted soldiers reported poorer emotional well-being than either senior enlisted or senior officers, especially among those who were married. Junior enlisted members also reported lower levels of marital satisfaction and those who were married were most likely to screen positive for depression. Family structure and Army environment and practices are often associated with soldiers' personal readiness, well-being and service utilization in varying and complex ways. The authors provide policy recommendations in four major domains: changes in Army requirements and practices; increases in leadership support of soldiers and family members; selectivity in recruitment or retention; and enhanced services and outreach. No specific recommendations are given regarding junior enlisted personnel.

Gerrard, M. (1989). *Antecedents of pregnancy and pregnancy attrition in first term women marines* **(Final Report ONR-89-1). Arlington, VA: Office of Naval Technology.**

This report highlights the findings from an 18-month longitudinal study of women marine recruits. The initial goal was to examine the birth control knowledge, and sexual and contraceptive behavior of women marines in order to identify barriers to effective contraception. A secondary goal was established after data collection had begun; the study was expanded to include collection of data relevant to the prevention of Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS). The participants included 956 women marines who were surveyed prior to graduation from recruit training at the Parris Island Marine Corps Recruiting Depot between November 1986 and September 1987. The response rate at the initial survey for the marine recruits was 98%. The response rate for the six month follow-up was 46%, at the 12 month follow-up was 38%, and at the 18 month follow-up was 30%. A comparison group of 311 women freshman college students completed the initial survey. The authors indicate that it is difficult to summarize the contraceptive experience of these women marines. However, several key points are evident. The majority (66%) have used oral contraceptives in the past, yet at least half have also had unprotected sex at some point in time. Approximately one-fifth report that their last intercourse was unprotected. As a group they were found to have knowledge and the experience needed to practice effective birth control, yet between 25 and 35% have failed to put this knowledge and experience to use in the recent past. In comparison to college aged women, female marines planned to have larger families and to have children at a younger age. Women marines had significantly more sexual experience and were more sexually active than the college women. They also used contraceptives less often than their college counterparts. The longitudinal component of the study found that female recruits continued to have frequent sexual intercourse with more sexual partners and that they were less effective in their contraceptive use. These findings also show that, while the women recruits have knowledge about HIV infection and AIDS, they did not perceive themselves to be at risk and this was further confirmed by their increased sexual activity and decreased condom use in their first 18 months after recruit training. Therefore, the high pregnancy rate among first term women marines appears to result from a combination of factors:
- high level of sexual activity and relatively ineffective contraceptive habits
- increased sexual activity after recruit training combined with decreased contraceptive use
- relatively positive attitude toward pregnancy, which becomes more positive after recruit training.

Several intervention programs are outlined by the authors as a way to change behaviors and attitudes relevant to pregnancy.

Jacobs, E. W. & Hicks, M. W. (1987). Periodic family separation: The importance of beliefs in determining outcomes. *Military Family,* **7**(2), 3-5.

This article presents the results of a study which addressed the nature of stress and whether locus of control affects the stress experienced through separation in military. The study focused on two research questions: (1) what were the effects of the separation, and (2) what factors were related to positive outcomes following separation. The total sample consisted of 102 individuals (31 couples who experienced separation and 20 couples who did not experience separation). All military members were in the pay grades E5 or below. All couples were given a survey one month before deployment and again approximately one month after the separated couples were reunited. The questionnaire included 13 background questions, a measure of locus of control and a measure of marital functioning. The two samples were not significantly different on any background variables, marital functioning levels or on the locus of control measure and locus of control was not related to the marital functioning pretest scores. This study found that periodic separation was not necessarily a negative event. Among the separated sample, 20% experienced a significant increase in marital functioning after being reunited, 40% experienced no change, and 40% experienced a decline. Locus of control and marital functioning prior to separation were found to be related to marital functioning after being reunited. Spouses who believed that the outcome of the separation would be determined by their own actions (internal locus of control) actually perceived their marriages to be stronger after separation than those spouses with an external locus of control. Implications for practitioners and research include the need to identify pre-existing and intervening conditions that will influence outcomes for couples adjusting to periods of separation.

Kerr, S. A. (1997). *Retention of first term and second-term Marine Corps enlisted personnel.* **Master's thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, CA.**

In order to investigate factors affecting the retention behavior of first and second term Marine Corps enlisted members data were extracted from the 1992 DoD Survey of Officer and Enlisted Personnel and their Spouses. Respondents in this data set were matched with their 1996 status from the Active Duty Military Master and Loss File. The sample was restricted to first or second term marines with between two and ten years of service, who were in pay grades E3 - E6, and who were within two years of a reenlistment decision when they took the survey in 1992. The sample (2,312) was further stratified into four groups by term of enlistment (first or second) and gender (male and female). Analysis using logistic regression found that there was no single factor that affected retention for all gender/term of service groups. Family factors such as whether the service member was married or had children were not found to be significant for any group except first term females who were married with children. These service members were less likely to reenlist than were single members without children. Economic force reduction concerns was the factor most often found to be significant (three of the four groups) and other factors were found to be significant for only one or two subgroups. Policymakers need to be cognizant of what factors affect the decision to reenlist and how these factors may vary by gender or over the course of a service members' career. The authors suggest future research efforts should also further examine differences in retention behavior by marital status. The authors note that these results were different from several previous studies. In addition, the number of single parents increased from the first term to second term and this may have an affect on retention decisions.

Quester, A. O. & Adedeji, A. M. (1991). *Reenlisting in the Marine Corps: The impact of bonuses, grade, and dependency status* **(Final CRM 91-64). Alexandria, VA: Center for Naval Analyses.**

The Center for Naval Analysis used data from the longitudinal ARSTAT (Accession Retention Statistics) tracking file to analyze reenlistment decisions for Marine Corps enlisted personnel. This file is a permanent longitudinal decision-based personnel file for all enlisted marines; it contains background information, records of all grade changes and a history of all-important decisions for each enlisted marine. A sample was selected of 27,000 marines who were active duty during the years FY80 through FY90. The sample was limited to those in their first 72 months of service. During this time, reenlistment decisions are often referred to as Zone A decisions. Multivariate analysis found that marines who are married (or have dependents) at the time of reenlistment decisions are more likely to remain in the military than those who are single. Additional factors that were related to reenlistment decisions included selected-reenlistment-bonuses (SRBs); Armed Forces Qualification Test (AFQT) score categories at accession and after the first enlistment; higher grade at the time of reenlistment decision; race and gender. Overall, higher SRBs, higher grade, longer initial enlistments are associated with higher reenlistment rates and those who are Black, female or married are more likely to reenlist than other groups. The creation of a permanent longitudinal decision database will allow researchers and policymakers to analyze retention decisions in a time frame that lags real-time decisions by only about three months.

Rosenberg, F. R. (1992). *Wives of first term soldiers: An analysis of survey results.* **Fort Detrick, MD: Walter Reed Army Institute of Research.**

This report describes the results of a survey of 176 wives of first term soldiers at a single Army installation. The sample was selected to include wives of junior enlisted personnel (E1 - E4) and junior officers (rank less than lieutenant). Data were collected during the fall of 1990. The majority of the respondents was young (under 24), married two years or less and about half had children. The primary outcome variable in this study was the respondent's feeling about life as a military wife. Over one-third felt positive about being a military wife, 13% were negative and over half had mixed feelings. Age and length of marriage related positively to satisfaction with military life. Only 15% of the respondents reported that they had a sponsor on arrival on post and most of these were officers' wives. Instrumental supports such as information or know-how were identified as most valuable. Most wives reported moderate, but not severe, problems and stress. Field duty and leaving one's family were identified as the major causes of stress. A major factor in wives' satisfaction was their perception of Army attitudes towards wives and families. In terms of well-being and satisfaction with military life, social networks exerted a stronger impact than did perceived social support. The author uses the word "moderate" to summarize the attitudes, problems and stresses of the first term wife. Since this data was collected prior to the Persian Gulf War, findings reflect attitudes during peacetime. In addition, the number and frequency of deployments has increased over the past ten years and this factor is not addressed in this report.

Royle, M. H. & Thomas, P. J. (1996). *Reducing unplanned pregnancies in the Navy* **(NPRDC-TN-96-40). San Diego, CA: Navy Personnel Research and Development Center.**

This report summarizes the findings from a study that was conducted to identify promising approaches to reduce unplanned pregnancies in the Navy. A secondary objective was to analyze demographic data obtained from two Navy surveys to determine which variables were associated with unplanned pregnancy among women in the first enlistment. To meet the first objective, information about efforts to reduce unplanned pregnancies was requested from commands that have enlisted women. In addition, the research literature on pregnancy prevention and sexuality education was reviewed. To meet the second objective, data was analyzed from the 1988 and 1992 Navy surveys designed to track rates of pregnancy and single parenthood. Only a third (135) of all commands that responded indicated that they had an ongoing effort to reduce unplanned pregnancy. These commands serve large numbers of enlisted female personnel. Several strengths of Navy programs were identified, yet a major weakness was that these programs do not reach all young sailors. Analysis of the survey data found that approximately 8% of enlisted women were pregnant at the time of the survey and that 40-45% stated that their most recent pregnancy was unplanned. Comparisons found that pregnant and nonpregnant women did not differ significantly in terms of pay grade or racial/ethnic group. They did differ on age (those 20-24 were most likely to be pregnant); marital status (married sailors were more likely to be pregnant); and whether they intended to have a Navy career (those who planned to make a career of the Navy were less likely to be pregnant). The authors state that these findings suggest that an effective Navy program to reduce unplanned pregnancies could have a major impact on the incidence of pregnancy among first term women. Four recommendations related to program development and training are provided.

Walter Reed Army Institute of Research (WRAIR) (1995). *In-depth analysis of Army families II (1991-1992) - Summary Report.* **Washington, DC: Author.**

This report summarizes findings from the Survey of Army Families II (SAF-II), a mail-out survey completed by 4,897 civilian spouses (96% female) of active duty soldiers. This study was conducted to gather information on families use of and satisfaction with support programs and unit-family leadership. SAF findings are a yardstick for progress in Army Family Action Plan (AFAP) goals. The report provides demographic information, compares spouses in CONUS to OCONUS (USAREUR), and reports highlights from written comments of the respondents. Only a few points of comparison are made in regards to junior enlisted or junior officers. While a low percentage (6%) of spouses wanted the active duty member to leave the Army, those who did were more likely to be first term wives. They also reported more stress and dissatisfaction with the Army and social isolation. Spouses of junior enlisted personnel knew the least about the Army as an organization or about a spouse's role within the organization. Lower soldier rank was weakly associated with greater spouse perceptions of stress, a higher self-reported psychological depression score, and lower spouse adjustment to Army life. The highest frequencies of distress occurred among Junior Enlisted spouses who tended to be the least well adjusted.

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Chapter 5

FAMILY STRESS AND ADAPTATION

Theresa J. Russo, Ph.D., C.F.L.E.

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Introduction

Since World War II, the proportion of service members with families has steadily increased. A large portion of the military personnel is married with children (Segal & Harris, 1993), resulting in a shift in research and policy attention to military families. Service in the Armed Forces is more than an occupational choice, it is a lifestyle choice that is reflected in every aspect of a person's life (Bowen, 1990a). It requires a high level of commitment, dedication and sacrifice of family and personal needs to meet the work mission (Bowen). The study of military families involves analysis of how the military and family intersect. There are commitment, loyalty, time, and energy demands of both military life and family life. These demands often create conflict between the two due to such trends as changes in women's roles in society, increases in the numbers of married junior enlisted personnel, single parents, active duty mothers, dual-career couples, and dual-service couples (Segal, 1986; Segal & Harris).

Family Stress Model

The purpose of the family stress research has been to understand the impact of stress on the family and to identify the resources used by these families to cope with stress. The primary conceptual model for this type of research has been the ABCX family stress model introduced by Hill (1949/1971) in his study of families separated by war. This model has since been modified by McCubbin and Patterson (1982) to the Double ABCX model and by McCubbin and McCubbin (1987) to the T-Double ABCX model for further study of family adaptation and adjustment to stressors. The classic ABCX Model (Hill, 1949/1971, 1958) identified the "A factor" as the stressor event, something potentially difficult or problematic for the family. The "B factor" refers to the resources or strengths the family has at the time of the stressor event. The "C factor" is the meaning or interpretation the family, both collectively and as individuals, gives to the stressor event (i.e., do they interpret this situation as reversible or debilitating?). The A, B, and C factors function together to create the "X factor." The X factor is the amount of stress or the crisis event for the family.

The revisions of this model into the Double ABCX and the T-Double ABCX models integrate the notions of pre and post-crisis situations. These pre or post-crisis

situations may involve a *pile-up* of stressors. The idea is that no event occurs in isolation and often there is a series of stressor events (McCubbin & Patterson, 1982, 1983). Factors which may moderate the pile-up stressors or the single stressor event include: the family's use of adaptive resources (personal resources, family systems resources, and social supports), the family's sense of cohesion, their perception of the circumstances, and the meaning given to the situation by the family (Lavee, McCubbin, & Patterson 1985). In a further revision of the ABCX models, McCubbin and McCubbin (1988, 1991) proposed the Resiliency Model of Family Stress Adjustment and Adaptation, which focused on elements of family functioning during stressful times. Bowen (1990a) has also used the Person-Environment Fit Model to discuss the impact of work and nonwork factors on family adaptability. From the P-E Fit perspective, family adaptation is conceptualized as the fit between "demands and abilities" and "needs and resources" (Caplan, 1983). In his own model, Bowen combined the strengths of the Double ABCX model and the Person-Environment Fit Model to understand the variations in family adaptation by service members and their families to work and family role demands in the U.S. Army. This model looks at three components: 1) the environmental system—Army policies, practices and programs; organizational and family role demands; and adaptive resources available to family such as community friendships; 2) the personal system—individual resources of service members such as self-esteem; individual values; and individual expectations; and 3) family adaptation from a personal, family, community and Army viewpoint. The personal system moderates the impact of the environmental system on family adaptation. It is also expected that changes in the personal system will affect changes in the environmental system and vice versa.

The ABCX model has typically been used to look at family adaptation to life in general (Bowen, 1989, 1990a; McCubbin & Patterson, 1983), and more recently at family adaptation to military life (Bell, Schumm, Elig, Palmer-Johnson, & Tisak, 1993; Black, 1993; Bowen, Orthner & Zimmerman, 1993; Bowen, Orthner, Zimmerman & Meehan, 1992; Orthner & Bowen, 1990; Schumm, Bell, Knott & Rice, 1996; Schumm, Bell & Tran, 1994; Styles, Janofsky, Blankinship & Bishop, 1990) The model places a strong emphasis on the availability and supportiveness of adaptive resources for meeting personal, family, and environmental needs (Bowen, 1990a; Bowen et al., 1993). As consistently identified in the literature, the presence of formal and informal support systems that act as resources for service members facilitates family adaptation (Segal & Harris, 1993). Family adaptive resources used and developed to help families cope include: individual's knowledge, self-esteem and skills; family system resources such as cohesion, communication, and adaptability; social support such as the perceived network of friends and extended family from which help can be drawn; and quasi-formal and formal support systems such as work and neighborhood organizations, and military practices and policies (Antonovsky & Sourani, 1988; Blaisure & Arnold-Mann, 1992; Bowen, 1990b). Bowen et al. (1992) identified five levels of adaptive resources—psychological, relationship, family, community, and Army. These adaptive resources are believed to operate simultaneously and reciprocally with each other. Family adaptation is positively related to family members' adjustment to marital and family life, and to life in the Army (Bowen, 1990b). Family adaptation is facilitated when its available resources balance the demands of the family. For example, Lavee et al. (1985) found that Army families who were more flexible and communicated support to one another were more successful in dealing with the pile-up of stressors that accompanied an overseas relocation.

Definition of Family Adaptation

The conceptual definition of family adaptation is fairly similar throughout the literature. The underlying context is the family's attempt to cope with the stressor event or pile-up stressors or demands. This would require individual members to act as an integrated and functioning unit, and to establish a level of fit between itself and its environment (Bell, 1991; Bowen, 1990a). The military family literature specifically looks at family adaptation as the ability of a family to adjust to the organizational demands (Segal & Harris, 1993). Much of the research on family adaptation to the military has been done with Army families, therefore, the operational definition of family adaptation is typically defined in the context of Army life. The belief is that the families who adapt best (to military life) are those who meet Army demands and enjoy the Army lifestyle (Schumm et al., 1994).

For example, Bowen (1990b, p. 15) defined family adaptation as "composite of family members' general attitude toward the Army, their satisfaction with Army provisions for the family, their commitment to continuing the Army career, and their level of support for their Army mission." Schumm, et al. (1994, p. vi) defined family adaptation as "the ability of soldiers and their families to meet Army demands and their ability to achieve personal and family satisfaction at the same time." Bowen et al. (1992, p. 44) defined it as "the degree to which soldiers and their family members cope and adjust to the demands of Army and family life and work together as a team in meeting Army expectations and achieving individual and collective goals." They identified two components of family adaptation coping and adjustment, and fit and spouse support. The coping and adjustment component was measured by coping with work responsibilities, coping with family responsibilities, and family adjustment to Army demands. Spouse support of soldier being in the Army and high Army-family fit were identified as important components of family adaptation among married soldiers.

Bowen et al. (1992) found that differences in stress and adaptation among soldiers from different family patterns are related to distinctive personal, family, and work characteristics (demographic differences) of these families rather than the family pattern itself. For example, soldiers in dual military and civilian-husband marriages tend to be younger and less likely to have children than those in civilian-wife marriages. This is consistent with McCubbin and Lavee (1986) who found life cycle differences in adaptation and coping based on demographic characteristics which are associated with age and longevity in the military.

Types of Adaptation

Bowen, Orthner, Zimmerman and Bell (1994) hypothesized two types of adaptation: internal and external. Internal is concerned with adapting/coping of family members within the family system, while external adaptation is concerned with families adapting and coping with the Army and its needs. They found that family adaptation to marriage and family adaptation to the Army are two separate factors. In addition, soldier and spouse adaptation are related but distinct effects. Each marital partner has his or her own interpretation of the family and its ability to adapt to internal and external pressures. External adaptation had a positive influence on a soldier's readiness, work satisfaction, and retention if he perceived his family as adapting to Army life. Spouse readiness is a term used to recognize the importance of families in

the Army's overall mission (Campbell et al., 1991). It is reflected in the behaviors and attitudes of spouses during normative and nonnormative conditions. Behavioral and emotional adaptability are considered dimensions of spouse readiness. Behavioral adaptability refers to a spouse's ability to locate and obtain services when needed, such as childcare and medical care, as well as to meet the family's daily needs. Emotional adaptability refers to the spouse's ability to make decisions for the family. The spouse needs to maintain the emotional stability of the family while the military member is absent by coping with any problems that arise. Support networks of family and friends seem to increase emotional adaptability (McCubbin & Lester, 1977 as cited in Campbell et al., 1991).

Segal and Harris (1993) suggested that one way to look at family adaptation among military families is to identify families' primary concerns about the military. These include aspects of Army life which affect their ability to function on a day to day basis such as medical care, childcare, work-hours, moves, and separation. Relocation (mobility), separation, danger, and institutional aspects of the Army have been consistently identified as major stressors to which Army families must adapt (Schumm et al., 1994; Segal & Harris). Older families with more experience in the Army system usually adapt better. Families identified as having adaptation problems include young junior enlisted families, those with financial and marital problems, those who lack experience and maturity, newly married couples separated from extended family, and those just arriving on post. Family adaptation is important because personnel will have better job performance and morale if adaptation is positive. For example, military leaders believe family adaptation is a key factor in readiness (Bowen et al., 1994). There is often a *spill-over effect:* families who do not adapt well may create problems for themselves and the military member. It will make them less effective in their jobs, less committed to the Army, and less prepared. Families with poor adaptation can be targeted to help build family strengths (families ability to cope with demands). It is cost effective to promote adaptation rather than to resolve problems after occurrence (Segal & Harris).

Adaptation of Military Families

There continues to be some debate over whether military families are worse, better or show little difference when compared to their civilian counterparts because of these stressors specific to military life. Since Hill (1949/1971) introduced the ABCX model, the stressors of military families have been labeled nonnormative, however, as Blaisure and Arnold-Mann (1992) point out, many of the stressors of a peace-time military have become normative. Normative stressors have three distinguishing characteristics: they occur in most families; they are usually expected; and they are most often short-term (McCubbin & Patterson, 1982). Expected or planned stressors are usually less stressful to families than unexpected stressors. Military families often face some unexpected stressors (e.g., delay in returning from scheduled deployment, change in training schedule, threat of conflict), however, many of the stressors (e.g., relocation every 3-4 years, training deployments and field time, long work hours) are part of the military lifestyle, and therefore expected. It would be important, then, for families living within the military system to adapt to this lifestyle for healthy functioning. Both normative and nonnormative conditions can place a family at risk or put it into a crisis situation. Some families learn to adapt and endure these situations

while other families deteriorate and never recover (McCubbin, McCubbin, Thompson, Han, & Allen, 1997).

Earlier works by McCubbin and associates indicate the importance of family protective factors and family recovery factors in explaining and predicting family resiliency in times of family crises such as chronic illness of family member (McCubbin, 1989), having a family member unaccounted for during war or a prisoner of war (McCubbin, Hunter, & Dahl, 1975), the return of a prisoner of war (McCubbin, Dahl, Lester, & Ross, 1975), family economic losses (McCubbin & Thompson, 1989), and family developmental transitions (McCubbin, Thompson, Pirner, & McCubbin, 1988). McCubbin and McCubbin (1996) view resiliency as adjustment and adaptation. Adjustment draws from the protective factors in facilitating family's ability to function when faced with risk factors. Adaptation draws on recovery factors in facilitating the family's ability to bounce back or adapt to crisis situations. Family crises are most often resolved by using family resources, capabilities and recovery factors. For example, McCubbin et al. (1997) found that families struggling with the prolonged absence of a family member due to war used self-reliance and equality (family members able to act independently in best interest of family), family advocacy (changing the social and economic milieu to foster family adaptation), family meanings (during adversity family has to make changes to establish patterns of functioning to promote stability, harmony and balance), and family schema (internally regulated set of values, beliefs, expectations, and rules that shape family functioning).

Developmental Perspective

More recently, a developmental model has been introduced into the discussion of military families. Gade (1992) presented his ideas about a developmental perspective for studying military families, and Vormbrock (1993) paralleled the developmental attachment theory to the feelings military couples experience when they undergo separation. This literature suggests that military families may cope differently with the stressors of military life based on their developmental level. Olson et al. (1989) studied *normal* families and their transition through the various stages of the family life cycle from early marriage to retirement. The purposes were to indicate the normative types of stress these families encounter as they move throughout the life cycle, to specify styles of coping, and to ascertain the programs and resources these families utilize and need.

Olson et al. (1989) focused on the positive aspects of families and identified the strengths that help them cope and deal effectively with stress over the life cycle. Identifying and understanding the protective factors used in managing developmental transitions and changes for a family over time will help to maintain and promote balance within the family (McCubbin et al., 1997). Examples of protective factors across and at various stages of the life cycle include family celebrations, family times and routines, family communication, financial management. Lavee et al. (1985) discuss the importance of protective factors available from family members, from within the family system, and from the community. The importance of protective factors varies by life cycle stages and ethnicity (McCubbin & Lavee, 1986). For example, couples without children utilize protective factors of social status and occupational status while families in the empty nest stage draw from protective factors of family cohesiveness and bonding (McCubbin et al.).

Family development theory indicates that families are working on developmental tasks specific to their position in the family life cycle. Duvall (1970) theorized about these tasks and Olson et al. (1989) identified stressors typical of each of the stages. The goal of research with military families is to identify how stressors of military life will affect families at different stages of the family life cycle. For example, Vormbrock (1993) suggests that newly married couples who are not yet attached to each other will have more difficulty coping with separation. Quality of military life as perceived by the spouse and family is related to job performance and retention of military personnel (Segal & Harris, 1993). The life cycle implications of this finding are that couples who do not learn to adapt and cope with the stress of the military lifestyle will either perform poorly in their job, have poor family relationships and problems as they negotiate through the normative stressors of the family life cycle, and/or separate from the military in an attempt to stabilize their family life.

Conclusion

There is no doubt that family adaptation to the military is an important issue. The military literature is focused primarily on family adaptation as it relates to organizational outcomes (Bowen et al., 1994; Schumm et al., 1994). For example, a great deal of research indicates that when families adapt inadequately to military life, soldiers may be less effective in their jobs, less prepared—which affects individual and unit readiness, and less committed to the military—which impacts on retention (Bell, 1991; Bowen et al.; Orthner, 1990; Sadacca, Stawarski, & DiFazio, 1993; Simutis, Bell, & Gade, 1993). There remains a need in the research to focus on family adaptation as a process throughout the family life cycle, in order to find predictors or factors that facilitate family adaptation. Family members will adapt differently to military life at different stages of the life cycle. Furthermore, families are unique, and different programs will meet the needs of different families at different stages of the life cycle (McCubbin & Lavee, 1986). In addition, as Bowen et al. found, adaptation to marriage and adaptation to work are two distinct but interrelated factors and they affect husbands and wives differently. Finally, the literature on family adaptation to the military is heavily weighted with research on Army families. Although we can anticipate many of the same issues or stressors across the Armed Forces, we must also recognize the unique characteristics of each service and focus on adaptation specific to the issues of each service.

FAMILY STRESS AND ADAPTATION

Annotated Bibliography

Antonovsky, A. & Sourani, T. (1988). Family sense of coherence and family adaptation. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 50, 79-92.*

The purpose of this article is to translate the sense of coherence (SOC) construct from individual to family level, and to study its (SOC) relationship to family adaptation. A family SOC scale was developed to measure the perceived coherence of family life. A sample of 60 married Israeli males who were disabled by injury or illness, along with their wives, completed the SOC and adaptation scales. A questionnaire containing the Family Adaptation Scale, Family Sense of Coherence Scale, family satisfaction, and demographic items was used. The scales are described and available in the appendix of the article. The data strongly supported the hypothesis that families with a strong sense of coherence are more likely to be well adapted and more likely to reach a high level of reorganization after a crisis period. Levels of sense of coherence for both husband and wife, either together or separately, are closely associated with the extent to which spouses are satisfied with different aspects of family life. The authors discuss conception of the variables—sense of coherence and adaptation—and note that causal research needs to be done. The article is useful in examining the relationship between these variables. This conceptualization is an important contribution to the family adaptation literature.

Bell, D. B. (1991). *The impact of Operation Desert Shield/Storm on Army families: A summary of findings to date.* **Paper presented at the National Council on Family Relations Conference, Denver, CO.**

The purpose of this paper is to organize past and present findings that bear upon the Army's programmatic concerns regarding readiness issues. It is based on the Revised Causal Model of Army Family Relocation Adaptation, wherein social support, family life events, family systems resources, coherence and meaning, and relocation strains impact on family adaptation. This paper discusses the research on family adaptation in the context of Operation Desert Storm/Shield (ODS/S). Specific recommendations are also made to reduce deployment stress. This report is conceptual in nature, taking what we know about family adaptation and applying the specific circumstances of ODS/S so that recommendations to support families in the future can be made.

Bell, D. B., Schumm, W. R., Elig, T. W., Palmer-Johnson, C. E., & Tisak, J. (1993). *Helping Army families cope with deployments: Lessons learned from Desert Storm.* **Paper presented at Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association, Toronto, Canada.**

The ABCX Model of family stress was tested with a sample of Army personnel deployed for Operation Desert Shield/Storm (ODS/S). Family adaptation was measured by retrospective soldier reports of how well their families managed, how much family/personal stress they experienced, and how much they worried about their families during ODS/S. The sample included only male soldiers married to civilian wives who had actually deployed to Southwest Asia during ODS/S. With restrictions, the actual enlisted sample size was 655 with an adjusted effective sample size of 435; for officers, the actual sample size was 865 with an adjusted size of 673. A secondary data analysis of the Surveys of Total Army Personnel was used for this paper. The best predictor of family adaptation during ODS/S was soldier's report of family adaptation prior to the deployment. This suggests that if the Army wants to help families adapt during separation/deployment they will have to help them manage better during peacetime. Further research is needed to test the ABCX model in a multivariate analysis to determine direct and indirect effects of the independent variables. This paper is useful in its application of the ABCX model for analysis of family adaptation during ODS/S. However, because of secondary data analysis there are limitations to the measures and analyses which the authors are careful to point out. Further investigation along these lines is warranted.

Black, W. G. (1993). Military-induced family separation: A stress reduction intervention. *Social Work, 38,* **273-280.**

The goal of this article is to highlight some of the unique stressors faced by active-duty, National Guard, and reserve military families. In addition, the author offers practice guidelines to assist social workers in developing interventions to help families cope with separation due to military assignment. This article is based on an extensive review of the literature on military-induced separation. It also relies on findings from the 1985 Survey of Spouses (Defense Manpower Data Center). The ABCX model of family stress is used to help develop the practice guidelines for social workers to help families cope with separation. Practice guidelines included forming support groups, asking spouses to lead support groups, targeting young families, focusing on children, combating social isolation, managing grief reaction, coping with indefinite separations, and planning the family's reunion. This article is designed to be practical in nature. It does a nice job reviewing the literature on family stress and establishing its conceptual model from which intervention strategies are suggested.

Blaisure, K. R. & Arnold-Mann, J. (1992). Return and reunion: A psychoeducational program aboard U.S. Navy ships. *Family Relations, 41,* 178-185.

The purpose of this paper is to identify the goals of the Return and Reunion (R&R) program that increases the resources of Navy personnel to respond effectively to the normative and stressful event of reunion. The article provides a brief explanation and description of the program, content of presentations within the program, and the program evaluation. The program is based on three assumptions: 1) separations due to deployments are normative, 2) Navy families are healthy, and 3) increasing families' resources of communication, adaptability and cohesion will strengthen families. The R & R program has been successful in meeting the needs of returning military personnel from peacetime and wartime Navy deployments. It has helped military members reconnect with their families after prolonged separations. This article is useful in helping to think about the normative stressors of military life. The program seems to be conceptually grounded in the adaptation and family stress literature. The article provides enough details about the program for replication and a clear understanding of the program. As the authors point out, little evaluation of the effectiveness of the program has been done, thus there is a need for such research. The authors also discuss the adaptability of this program to other military services besides Navy and for a variety of service providers.

Bowen, G. L. (1989). *Family adaptation to relocation: An empirical analysis of family stressors, adaptive resources, and sense of coherence.* **Alexandria, VA: U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences.**

The purpose of this study is to investigate the factors that impact on family adaptation during relocation. These factors are divided into family stressors, family adaptive resources, and sense of coherence. This report is a secondary data analysis of the 1,000 Army Families Dataset collected in 1983. An initial sample of 1,227 officer and enlisted families were selected to participate in the study by independently completing questionnaires. There was an 84% response rate for an N=1,036, with an additional 53 of these couples eliminated for missing data. The final sample contained 983 officer and enlisted married couples with soldier spouse and civilian wife. Data was analyzed separately for enlisted members, spouses of enlisted members, officers, and spouses of officers. Two factors emerged as predictors of adaptation for each of the groups: 1) the importance for their level of family adaptation of actual experiences meeting the expectations of families when they relocate to Europe, and 2) community support. Other factors emerged for each subgroup, such as housing for enlisted soldiers and their spouses, and the timing of the move for officers and their spouses. The author suggests that the Army can enhance adaptation by ensuring families get accurate information about where they are relocating, and by improving informal community networks. The Army should also work to reduce relocation stress by giving soldiers adequate time before they begin regular duty hours to handle personal and family affairs when leaving one post and arriving at another. It is also suggested that the Army should reduce practices that create competition between the Army and the family for soldier's time, energy and commitments. This report is useful in supporting earlier work on family adaptation and providing added insight about family adaptation to a specific outcome: relocation. The study is exploratory in nature and the author recognizes that one should interpret the results cautiously. Suggestion for changes in programs and policies are very useful.

Bowen, G. L. (1990a). *The family adaptation model: A life course perspective.* **Alexandria, VA: U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences.**

This paper conceptualizes the development of the family adaptation model. This model is built on the Double ABCX Model of family stress and the Person-Environment Fit Model. The major aspects of this new model are, the environmental resources, the personal resources, and family adaptation. The author believes that this family adaptation model provides a framework for the identification, definition, and the eventual measurement of conceptual domains for addressing the role of family factors in retention, readiness, and sense of community. The life cycle perspective is also discussed to focus on the interactions of work and family career lines across time. It is proposed that dimensions within the environment system, personal system, and family adaptation may vary over the work and family life cycle. This paper provides a useful conceptualization of family adaptation. It reviews and draws from the classic models of family stress and adaptation in order to develop a new model. In addition, it begins to incorporate the life-cycle perspective into the discussion of family adaptation. The author is cautious in his encouragement to adopt this model, emphasizing the need to test it.

Bowen, G. L. (1990b). *Identification of strong/well families and mechanisms to support them.* **Alexandria, VA: U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences.**

This report provides an overview and brief summary of the research on family strength, which is then used as a basis for a conceptual model of family strength and adaptation in the Army. This conceptual model is proposed as a vehicle for formulating and refining specific research questions which will guide secondary analyses and field visits. The SRA Model of Family Strength and Adaptation in the Army is a simplified version of the earlier conceptual model, building on the work of Hill (1949/1971), McCubbin and Patterson (1982), and Segal (1986). The model includes three major components: family stressors, family adaptive resources, and family adaptation. Family adaptation is an outcome dimension in this model. It is defined as a composite of family members' overall adjustment to marital and family life as well as to Army life. It is expected that family adaptation is facilitated when its available resources balance the demands on the family unit. In addition, there is a reciprocal relationship between adaptation to marital and family life and adaptation to life in the Army. This model is soundly grounded in the empirical research. The author points out that the model needs to be tested and refined through secondary analysis, field testing, and expert and user interviewers. This model builds on the literature on family adaptation, while offering a specific look of adaptation to the Army.

Bowen, G. L., Orthner, D. K., & Zimmerman, L. I. (1993). Family adaptation of single parents in the United States Army: An empirical analysis of work stressors and adaptive resources. *Family Relations, 42,* 293-304.

The purpose of this study is to identify stressors and adaptive resources that contribute to family adaptation among single parent soldiers, and to help tailor support services and interventions for these single parents. Data were used from the 20,033 active duty and enlisted personnel who participated in the 1989 Army Soldier and Family Survey (ASFS). Approximately 28% of the original sample were not eligible to participate because of reassignment or separation, so of the 14,371 military members who remained eligible to participate, 11,035 returned usable questionnaires (77% response rate). Approximately 2% identified themselves as single parents, which included 94 single fathers and 144 single mothers. Eight measures were used to examine the relationship between family adaptation to Army life and work stressors, family and community resources, and Army support resources. The measures are well described in the article, some of which were used in other research on family adaptation. Single mothers were found to have higher levels of adaptation to the Army than single fathers. Family strength and Army policy support were important predictors of family adaptation for both single mothers and single fathers. The authors suggest that future research on single parents should conduct separate analyses on mothers and fathers or use gender as control variable. Policy and practice recommendations include: offering support groups for single parent men, strengthening formal social support systems for single parents, creating a culture in the Army that recognizes and respects family diversity, and training commanders and unit supervisors to recognize the potential for role strain and overload among single parents in their units. This research is methodologically and conceptually sound. The authors provide a detailed description of sampling, measurement and data analyses. It is a useful article for discussing family adaptation, focusing on a specific subgroup of Army personnel.

Bowen, G. L, Orthner, D. K., Zimmerman, L. I., & Bell, D. B. (1994). *Family adaptation: Contributions to the work and personal adjustments of soldiers and their spouses.* **Alexandria, VA: U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences.**

The purpose of this research is to examine the impact of husband and wife adaptation on work outcomes and personal adjustments. It also examines the potential predictive validity of creating a couple measure of family adaptation from the individual survey responses of soldiers and their spouses. Data was collected in 1989 from a random sample of 11,035 soldiers (77% effective response rate) and 3,345 spouses (57% effective response rate), but analysis for this study were only conducted on the 2,729 soldier husband and civilian wife couples in the sample who completed questionnaires about their families. Six parallel measures from the soldier and spouse datasets were used as indicators of internal adaptation, and four parallel measures from these datasets were used as indicators of external adaptation (included in the appendix of the report). The results indicate that family adaptations to the marriage and to the Army are separate factors. Family adaptation consists of internal adaptation within the marriage itself, and external adaptation in which they adapt to the demands of the Army. Soldier work attitudes and personal adjustments are more strongly influenced by the family's adaptation to Army demands, whereas spouse adjustments are more associated with adaptation to the marriage. Specific recommendations are offered regarding support programs and policies impacting on adaptation. Suggestions for future research to examine variations in family adaptation and its predictors are also made. This study is a useful contribution to the conceptualization of family adaptation, and spouse differences regarding adaptation. It is well grounded in theory and methodologically very sound. Its conceptualization of family adaptation and research findings is unique from previous research studies.

Bowen, G. L., Orthner, D. K., Zimmerman, L. I., & Meehan, T. (1992). *Family patterns and adaptation in the U.S. Army.* **Alexandria, VA: U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences.**

The purpose of this research is to compare the stresses, strengths, and adaptations of soldiers living in civilian wife marriages, civilian husband marriages, dual military marriages, or single parenthood. Data was collected from a random sample of 11,035 soldiers in 1989 (77% effective response rate), but only 7,524 married and single parent soldiers in the sample were used in the analyses. Scales were grouped into three subsections, stressors, adaptive resources, and family adaptation. Scales consisted of items from the self-administered soldier survey and are described in the appendix of the report. Civilian spouse marriages were examined, even if the spouses were not co-located. Dual military marriages are those in which both spouses were on active duty. Single parents were unmarried soldiers who had custody of children living in their household. Comparison of soldiers across gender and pay grade were conducted on variables of work stress, family stress, psychological stress, marriage and family strengths, social and community resources, leadership support, coping and adjustment, and Army-family fit. Significant differences were apparent in demographic characteristics associated with family patterns. For example, younger, junior enlisted experienced more stress regardless of their family type.

From the findings, specific recommendations include: expand support program efforts to married and single parent families, offer more informal support through community and unit organizations, increase training to leadership and services personnel on family-related issues, and conduct more research on unique needs of each family pattern. This report is useful for looking at family adaptation issues specific to family structure. It builds on previous research on family adaptation, but offers family structure as a unique factor. It is both methodologically and conceptually sound. The authors are very cautious in presenting the results so that the reader does not misinterpret what could be perceived as family pattern differences that are more likely to be demographic differences.

Lavee, Y., McCubbin, H. I., & Patterson, J. M. (1985). The Double ABCX model of family stress and adaptation: An empirical test by analysis of structural equations with latent variables. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 47,* **811-825.**

In this article, the theoretical Double ABCX model is transformed into an empirically testable model using data on Army families' adaptation to relocation overseas. The data were obtained from the 1,227 officer and enlisted families selected for the Army Family Survey. The sample consisted of intact marriages and families from all stages of the life cycle. The overall response rate was 86%, with 98% returning usable questionnaires. The data in this article were based on 288 enlisted soldiers and their spouses. Fifteen measures were used for the six variables: relocation strain, family life events, family system resources, social support, coherence and meaning, and adaptation. Description of these measures is included in the article. The results support the idea of pile-up stressors, in that previous family life events influence the postcrisis strains. Family system resources affect adaptation directly, and social supports are found to have a buffering effect that reduces the postcrisis strain. Sense of coherence was also found to significantly affect adaptation. The authors suggest changes in the model for future research. In addition, not all aspects of the theoretical model were tested; therefore, they should be included in future research. This article is a classic in the family stress literature because it is empirically testing the revised ABCX model—the Double ABCX model. It is both theoretically and methodologically sound, and the authors are careful to indicate the limitations of their study.

McCubbin, H. I., Hunter, E. J., & Dahl, B. B. (1975). Residuals of war: Families of prisoners of war and servicemen missing in action. *Journal of Social Issues, 31,* **95-109.**

This study attempted to determine the nature and extent of adjustment problems experienced by families of servicemen missing in action or prisoners of war in Southeast Asia. These families were studied because of their unique situation of adapting to the prolonged and indeterminate absence of a husband. The assumption is that adjustment problems must be expected when a family is asked to adapt to the absence of member who is missing in action or a prisoner of war. The sample consisted of 215 Navy, Army, and Marine Corps families, 100 families were of servicemen classified as prisoners of war (POW) and 115 were families of servicemen missing in action (MIA). Single in-depth interviews ranging from 2-8 hours were conducted with the wives of the POW/MIA service members. The interviews were structured in format and questions related to family history, psychological, social, and medical factors related to family and individual adjustment. Results indicated that normal patterns of coping with service members' absence were disturbed by the unprecedented and indeterminate length of the absence. There were major adjustments in family roles and interactions that usually led to a new way of life. The wives experienced emotional difficulties during the waiting period and modified their assessments of their marriages and developed new sets of expectations for the future of their marriage. Wives who adjusted well to wartime separation are most likely the ones to have greatest difficulty adjusting to status of intact family when the service member returns. This article is one of the classic studies of McCubbin and associates on the coping and adaptation of military families. Although the situation these families faced vary from the normal peacetime separation of today, it laid the foundation for much of what we have studied and know about family stress, coping, and adaptation.

McCubbin, H. I. & Lavee, Y. (1986). Strengthening Army families: A family life cycle stage perspective. *Evaluation and Program Planning, 9,* 221-231.

The purpose of this study is to identify the critical family strengths, community supports, and coping skills used by enlisted soldiers and their families to manage the stressors of military life. Questionnaires (1,227 pairs) were administered to military members and their spouses, and 1,052 (86%) were returned. Of those returned, 1,036 (98%) were usable. Enlisted families (a total of 782), representative of each stage of the lifecycle, were used in the analysis for this study. Measures for family adaptation, stress, strengths, coherence, and community support are briefly described in the paper, along with a complete reference of where to find the instruments. A comparative analysis of enlisted families across four stages of the life cycle (couples without children, those with preschool and school-age children, those with adolescents and launching young adults, and those in empty nest stage) revealed differences on demographic characteristics which are associated with age and longevity in the military. These demographic characteristics include age, formal education, length of marriage, income, number of children, and number of military tours. The findings from this study indicate the usefulness of using a military family lifecycle perspective for program development and evaluation. The preschool and school-age stage seem to require the most resources for families to adapt and cope. This article is extremely useful in that applying the lifecycle approach to family adaptation helps to identify what kinds of support families need at various times in their life. It is useful in integrating previous research on family adaptation with the lifecycle approach to studying military families.

McCubbin, H. I. & McCubbin, M. A. (1988). Typologies of resilient families: Emerging roles of social class and ethnicity. *Family Relations, 37,* 247-254.

This paper describes the study of resilient families, or the search for characteristics, dimensions, and properties of families that help them be resistant to disruption when dealing with change and adaptive when facing crisis situations. They review the literature on research strategies and findings from recent investigations on resilient families conducted as part of the Family Stress, Coping and Health Project at the University of Wisconsin. This review of studies conducted on military families emphasizes the importance of social class and ethnicity. The authors recommend that family life programs to help build resilient families should incorporate social class and ethnicity differences. This article is useful in conceptually understanding resiliency in families. It also incorporates the life-cycle perspective, and the social class and ethnicity issues to the study of resiliency in military families. It helps to broaden the conceptualization of family stress and adaptation among military families.

McCubbin, H. I., McCubbin, M. A., Thompson, A. I., Han, S., & Allen, C. T. (1997). Families under stress: What makes them resilient. *Journal of Family and Consumer Sciences, 89,* 2-11.

This article discusses the evolution of family resilience research. The use of family protective factors and family recovery factors are discussed. The authors conclude that in 25 years of research on families under stress, the names of the variables may have changed, but the focus of the research remains the same. The focus is to identify, conceptualize, measure, and validate the protective and recovery factors operative in family systems faced with risk factors and/or crisis situations. The effort is to isolate common factors that appear to be recovery and protective factors (resiliency factors) in families struggling with normative and nonnormative stressors. Ten resiliency factors are identified from the literature: family problem-solving communication, equality, spirituality, flexibility, truthfulness, hope, family hardiness, family time and routines, social support, and health. This article is particularly useful in looking at the evolution of the family stress research, and providing a current perspective of this research.

Orthner, D. K. & Bowen, G. L. (1990). *Family adaptation in the military.* **Alexandria, VA: U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences.**

The purpose of this report is to synthesize the interrelated activities (literature reviews, model development, primary and secondary analysis of data, field visits to conduct interviews with soldiers, family members, Army leadership, and services providers) that have been performed by the Army Family Research Plan family adaptation research group over three years. Indicators of family adaptation were found to vary by individual, work, and community characteristics such as informal support networks, military support services, and military leadership support. The authors suggest that results can be used by policymakers to guide their decisions concerning family programs that will foster family adaptation, and that future research needs to expand to more qualitative methodologies, short-term longitudinal research, and intervention research on selected programs and services. This report is useful for understanding and conceptualizing family adaptation, and its importance within the military.

Schumm, W., Bell, D. B., & Tran, G. (1994). *Family adaptation to the demands of Army life: A review of findings* **(ARI Research Report #1658). Alexandria, VA: U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences.**

The purpose of this report is to provide a literature review of research findings on family adaptation primarily from ARI, WRAIR, and the Arroyo Center of the RAND (acronym for Research and Development) Corporation. Family adaptation is defined as "the ability of soldiers and their families to meet Army demands and their ability to achieve personal and family satisfaction at the same time." Four major stressors to which families have to adapt include relocation (mobility), separation, danger, and institutional aspects of the Army. Separation seems to be the most serious threat to family adaptation, whereas relocation is the most frequent stressor encountered. Suggestions are made to enhance current relocation and separation programs, such as increasing availability of quality childcare on post, and promoting family teamwork. Suggestions for future research include: taking into account the effects of downsizing, using multivariate analyses of the effects of stressors on family adaptation, and using qualitative and short-term longitudinal studies to assess impact of downsizing and studying specific processes used in family adaptation. A very useful review of literature, the report incorporates much of the family adaptation research —particularly with Army families—conducted over the past 10-20 years.

Segal, M. W. & Harris, J. J. (1993). *What we know about Army families* (Special Report 21). Alexandria, VA: U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences.

This report draws from literature to answer often-asked questions about Army families. The report is divided into chapters on topics such as family demography, family and retention, family and readiness, family adaptation, and community support programs. Implications for policy, program, and leadership are discussed in each chapter. The chapter on family adaptation offers a summary of the literature to discuss the definition of adaptation, predictors and measures of adaptation, and the unique features of Army life to which a family must adapt (relocation, family separation, danger, institutional nature of the Army). This report is very useful, it is written in an accessible style for a diverse audience. It is a nice starting point for understanding one of the discussed topics because of its concise and organized integration of the literature.

Styles, M. B., Janofsky, B. J., Blankinship, D., & Bishop, S. (1990). *Investigating family adaptation to Army life: Exploratory site visit findings.* Alexandria, VA: U.S. Army Research Institute for Behavioral and Social Sciences.

The purpose of this research was to collect information about family adaptation to Army life. Interviews and focus groups were held with 184 participants, primarily soldiers and spouses, as well as some Army services personnel and Army leadership. A subsample of 86 soldiers and spouses completed a coping resource checklist. The focus groups were conducted using interview guides. The procedures and questions can be found in the report. A coping resource checklist was developed after some of the focus groups were conducted and can also be found in the report. The results indicate that families are most concerned about aspects of Army life that affect their day to day functioning, such as medical care, housing, separation, work hours, and relocation. Participants believe that Army leadership needs to be supportive and show concern for families. The authors also found that family adaptation affects readiness and retention and that the Army leadership expressed interest in retaining families who adapted well to Army life. The results also indicated the importance of a spouse's role in helping the family and soldier adapt to Army life. Data obtained from this study can be used to inform policies and programs to enhance adaptation. It can also be used to help develop measures for aspects of family adaptation. The research is very useful from an exploratory perspective. However, the sample is small and not representative Army wide. It is useful in conceptualizing adaptation, identifying some coping resources that families use, and identifying the importance of the spouse in the adaptation process.

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Chapter 6

FAMILY ADAPTATION TO DEPLOYMENTS[1]

D. Bruce Bell, Ph.D. and Walter R. Schumm, Ph.D.

D. Bruce Bell is an internationally recognized authority in the fields of military families and soldier delinquency. His study of family adaptation to the stress of deployments was conducted during the Gulf War and during American peacekeeping missions to Somalia, the Sinai, and Bosnia. He has authored or co-authored 77 book chapters, journal articles, professional reports and professional presentations. His honors include being elected a Fellow of the American Psychological Association. Dr. Bell is currently Senior Research Psychologist at the U.S. Army Research Institute, where his work focuses on soldier and family strains that are being caused by peacekeeping and other overseas deployments.

Walter R. Schumm is a professor in the School of Family Studies and Human Services at Kansas State University. He is also a colonel in the U.S. Army Reserve, with over 27 years of commissioned service, including a year of mobilization in support of Operation Desert Shield/Storm, during which time he tracked passenger and freight movements to and from Southwest Asia for Fifth Army Reserve Component Units. He has served as a summer faculty research fellow for the U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences since 1992.

Introduction

Military life places greater demands upon families than civilian life. Segal (1988) lists five of them: (1) risk of injury or death to the service member, (2) geographic mobility, (3) periodic separation of the service member from the rest of the family, (4) residence in foreign countries, and (5) normative role pressures placed upon family members because they are members of the military community. The extent to which family members can successfully adapt to these conditions of military life has been shown to be related to soldier retention, morale, and job performance (Segal & Harris, 1993).[2]

The purpose of this chapter is to review what is known about the adaptation of families to two of these demands that are especially prominent during overseas deployments: physical risk and family separation.[3] Some family separations in the military occur without a deployment, "the relocation of forces to desired areas of operations" (Office of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, 1989). Examples of such separations include overnight trips, temporary duty, an unaccompanied tour, or a tour where the

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[1] The views, opinions, and/or findings contained in this chapter are those of the authors and should not be construed as positions, policies, or decisions of the Department of the Army, or of any other agency of the United States Government, unless so designated by other documentation.

[2] For a more detailed discussion of what family adaptation is and how to measure it see: Bowen, Orthner, & Bell, 1997; Orthner, Zimmerman, Bowen, Gaddy & Bell, 1991; Schumm, Bell, & Tran, 1994; and Segal & Harris, 1993.

[3] Although many of the report's findings can easily be related to all of the military services, both the available studies and the background of the authors make Army experiences dominant in this report.

family decides not to accompany the service member.[4] Moreover, some deployments are fairly routine and uneventful. A unit may be deployed for a month to a large training area to participate in an intensive training exercise. Most of the deployment research has been generated in situations where at least 500 service members have been sent for at least six months to another country to accomplish a non-training mission. Many of these deployments also involved danger or at least the perceived threat of danger.

Deployments may be planned or unplanned, and the amount of information available to families may vary (Burke & Moskos, 1996). Deployments that are successful at peacekeeping may not attract much attention and therefore incline families to feel slighted, if not abandoned, for their sacrifices (Segal & Eyre, 1996). At the same time, deployments that "go sour" and lead to casualties are likely to lose public support and be abandoned, making the sacrifices seem less worthwhile. In general, the way in which the deployment mission is socially constructed affects family support for the mission and family assessment of its value versus its risk (Segal, 1994).

Deployments have long been known to be stressful for families (Bell, Stevens, & Segal, 1996b; Hill, 1949/1971). At a minimum, they constitute incidents of family separation, with their attendant problems. Non-routine deployments can also cause additional problems. The deployment may start rapidly and therefore give the family no time to plan. The soldier's return date and the types of dangers that the service member faces may be unknown. The opportunities for soldier-family communications may be greatly reduced by the lack of communication infrastructure or mission requirements. Thus, it was very appropriate that the Defense Science Board Task Force on the Quality of Life (also known as the Marsh Report) expressed "... serious concerns about the frequency and length of deployments and training exercises, including the negative effects on the well being of military personnel and their families (Burke & Moskos, 1996, p. 1)." Such concerns may well extend to Reserve Component personnel who deploy frequently (Schumm et al., 1998).

Deployment Stress

More than 80% of the spouses of soldiers sent to Bosnia and to the Gulf War said that they experienced sadness and loneliness at least once a week during the deployment. Over half the spouses reported other stress symptoms at least once a week: sleep problems, trouble "getting going," trouble concentrating, experiencing everything as an effort, and/or an inability to "shake the blues" (Bell, Bartone, Bartone, Schumm, & Gade, 1997a; Bell, et al., 1997b). These symptoms are generally transitory and professional counselors urge spouses who continue to have symptoms to seek professional help (Perez, 1990). About half the spouses of soldiers who had deployed to Bosnia reported a negative effect of the deployment on themselves (56%) or their soldier (49%). While only 19% of the spouses indicated an adverse effect on their marriage, the drop in marital satisfaction was larger than that seen for previous deployments (Schumm, Hemesath, Bell, Palmer-Johnson, & Elig, 1996) or for previous unaccompanied tours (Bell et al., 1997b). While the financial difficulties of spouses during the Bosnia mission appeared to be fewer than during the Gulf War, stress

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[4] For a more detailed description of the problems associated with all forms of family separation see Coulbaugh & Rosenthal, 1992; Schumm et al., 1994; and Segal & Harris, 1993.

symptoms were equivalent and marital adjustment may have been more adversely affected (Bell & Schumm, 1998). However, marital satisfaction probably bounced back when soldiers returned (Bell et al., 1997b). Nevertheless, reduced marital satisfaction of spouses or soldiers (Gifford, Halverson, Ritzer, Valentine, & Lathan, 1996) can affect job performance and attitudes toward the military (Schumm, Bell, Segal, & Rice, 1996).

Spouses were overall less supportive of the Bosnia mission than spouses had been of the early Somalia mission. Spouses who felt more prepared for the deployment were much more supportive of the mission, a result that was not an artifact of rank or other control variables (Bell et al., 1997a). However, worry about mission uncertainty was related to a host of important variables, including spouse stress, support for the mission, retention attitudes, and perceived adverse effects on the family, even controlling for rank, education, and age.

The experiences of the service member during a deployment can also come home in adverse ways to the family. Previous research has shown that, under some conditions, the stress of peacekeeping can increase tensions at home, even after the service member has returned (Litz, 1996; Lundin & Otto, 1989; Weisaeth, 1982, 1990).

Over and over, we have heard from spouses about what makes deployments so hard: the loss of emotional support, the increase in tasks to perform, worry about the safety and well-being of their soldiers, and problems getting reliable and timely information about the deployment. As Lewis (1984) said, what spouses want to know right after a deployment is announced is: (1) Where is my soldier going? (2) How long will they be gone? (3) Is the military member in danger? and (4) How do I get in touch with them if I need to? The inability to get quick and accurate answers to any of the four basic questions greatly increases spouse distress. For example, during the Somalia deployment, at least 80% of the spouses of deployed soldiers said that they experienced fears about their soldiers' safety, living conditions, and physical health. Most (90% of the spouses) said that they were concerned about "not knowing what was going to happen." In addition, 83% said that they had heard rumors about the soldiers' return date (actually unknown for most of the deployment).[5] Soldier-family communications were difficult during the Somalia mission because of the distances involved, the changes in unit locations, and the lack of modern communication infrastructures. In the spouse surveys, 70% of the spouses said that they had trouble communicating with their soldiers (Kerner-Hoeg, Baker, Lomvardias, & Towne, 1993).

In contrast to the emotional upsets, Kerner-Hoeg et al. (1993) found that the spouses of our soldiers in Somalia had fewer problems handling daily tasks such as snow removal (57%), getting household or auto repairs (35%), finances (27%), and transportation (24%).

It is frequently difficult during non-routine deployments to generate a predictable schedule of events and to stick to it. For example, during the Christmas season of 1992, it was difficult to predict when the troops would actually deploy for the Somalia

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[5] For a more detailed discussion of the role of rumors in deployment adaptation see Schumm, Bell, Knott, & Rice, 1990.

operation. This situation resulted in multiple and missed Christmas celebrations for many families as well as multiple and missed "good-byes" for many of the same families. Multiple good-byes were a wrenching experience that proved more traumatic for families than missing the chance to say a formal good-bye before leaving (Bell et al., 1996b).

Another source of stress for families is scarce or contradictory information about the deployment. Command sponsored information is usually accurate at the time it is gathered. However, the need to avoid rumors by having all information verified and sent through official channels means that the command information may not be as current as what an individual spouse just heard via the telephone or e-mail from the soldier. Contradictory information was definitely a problem during the Somalia deployment (Bell & Teitelbaum, 1993) and probably other deployments as well. During the Gulf War spouses also complained about the lack of good information from the Rear Detachment Command. Also, many felt that the command had not allowed the soldiers enough time to get their affairs in order before the deployment (HQ, USAREUR, 1991).[6]

Very little research has been done on the problem of how to conduct Rest and Recuperation (R&R) leave during a deployment; however, it was studied during the recent Bosnia deployment. Researchers found the following. Spouses favored having a home leave/R&R program, but they felt that the time should be "compensatory" rather than "charged" leave given the long duty hours demanded by the deployment.[7] Spouses also wanted some say in when leave was granted, but that decision was largely a function of the needs of the soldier's unit. Although appreciated, leave was often a stressful time since it disrupted newly established family routines, required another painful good-bye, and was associated with increased depression in the spouses after the soldier returned to Bosnia. There was also some evidence that sending soldiers on leave or back to home station during the time of the survey (i.e., four to seven months into the deployment), occurred due to family problems that were not being handled while the soldier was deployed (Bell et al., 1997a, 1997b).

Although many families are not aware of the problems, social scientists have long known that the reunion process was very stressful (Hill, 1949/1971; Dorn, Snyder, & Leonard, 1980; Van Vranken, Jellen, Knudson, Marlowe, & Segal, 1984). Wood, Scarville, and Gravino (1995) interviewed wives in detail about all phases of their husbands' deployment to the Sinai in 1987. They found separation and reunion to be stressful but most wives adjusted well to both phases. However, when the marriage had more problems than usual, reunion adjustment was relatively poor. Effective reunion requires that spouses and service members re-negotiate their roles and levels of independence, which may be more difficult for some couples than for others.

Peterson (1992) also found that the majority of Gulf War spouses reported that re-adjusting to their marriages during the first few months after reunion was easy. However, 9% of the spouses reported that they were still having a difficult or very

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[6] The Headquarters of the U.S. Seventh Army and U.S. Army in Europe published this document. In this chapter, we refer to that organization by its abbreviation: HQ, USAREUR.

[7] For a discussion of the types of leave that are available to soldiers under these conditions see Army Regulation 635-5. For more detail about how the Bosnia R & R program was operated and what its impacts were on families see Bell et al., 1997a, 1997b.

difficult time adjusting to their marriages seven months after the soldiers had returned. Marital adjustment seemed to be less of a problem during the Somalia deployment (Bell, Teitelbaum, & Schumm, 1996c) and during the 28th U.S. peacekeeping rotation to the Sinai (Bell, 1998). Research in progress by the authors on the MFO Multinational Force and Observers (MFO) deployment in 1995 has indicated that most families adjusted well within two years, but a small percentage reported difficulties even then (Bell & Schumm, 1998).

Several large-scale studies have found that children suffer increased problems when one of their parents is deployed during a major, overseas deployment. Rosen, Teitelbaum, and Westhuis (1993) found that psychological symptoms such as "sadness" were common during the Gulf War; however, few parents considered their children's problems to be serious enough to require professional help. According to Azarnoff (1990), the amount and kinds of problems children experienced depended upon the length and frequency of absences, the ages of the children, and the quality of parenting given by the non-deploying parents. There is also some evidence that the kinds and amounts of problems changed as the families moved through pre-deployment, deployment, and reunion (Amen, Jellen, Merves, & Lee, 1988).

What Helps Families Adapt

One of the recurring themes in deployment literature is that spouses adapted better if they adopted positive attitudes about the deployment and concentrated on things that they could control. Bell (1991) summarized what he found to be a winning deployment strategy for military spouses:

- Develop individual and family goals. Use them to develop and maintain family routines.
- Accept the lack of control over deployment events.
- Concentrate on what you can control: today, yourself, your family, your job, etc.
- Become or remain active; get a job, volunteer, or take up a hobby.
- Seek relevant information about the mission, the Army, and helping agencies.
- Seek social support from friends, relatives, Family Support Groups (FSGs),[8] and the families of other deployed soldiers.
- Communicate with your soldier, and open channels of communication within your own family.
- Check out rumors, and do not believe everything you hear.

A second consistent finding is that friends and relatives were more likely to be utilized and seen as "helpful" during a deployment than any of the social services being offered by the military (Bell, 1993; Bell, Schumm, Segal, & Rice, 1996a; Kerner-Hoeg et al., 1993). This finding is not surprising given that spouses were more likely to need the kinds of services that friends and relatives give than those that installations normally provide (e.g., free childcare on demand).[9]

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[8] For a listing of materials that are available see Bell et al., 1996b, the "family matters" headquarters of the individual services or contact the Military Family Resource Center, 4040 N. Fairfax Drive, Room 420, Arlington, VA 22033, 703-696-9053.
[9] For a detailed explanation of what a FSG is and what it and the rest of the Army's family support system looks like during deployments see Bell et al., 1996a; U.S. Army (1985) DA Pamphlet 608-47; and U.S. Army Liaison Office, 1995.

In fact, junior enlisted families, in particular, were quite likely to leave the installation where they had been with their soldiers and "go home" to get additional help from their relatives during a prolonged deployment. Although they were generally successful in getting the support they were looking for (e.g., reduced housing costs, emotional support, and help raising small children), Peterson (1992) showed that junior enlisted families were less likely than more senior families to be adapting well to service life.[10]

The fact that spouses are less likely to use Army services than friends or relatives does not mean that Army services are not used or found to be helpful. Many of the Army programs (e.g., housing, programs for newcomers, and FSGs) help Army families to acquire friends who, in turn, help the spouses to cope. Furthermore, research has shown that use of certain programs does increase during deployments. These programs included the Rear Detachment Command (RDC) and FSG of the soldier's units and the installation's Army Community Service (ACS) agency (Bell, 1993; Bell et al., 1996c). The U.S. Army in Europe also found that spouses of soldiers sent to the Gulf War from Europe were more likely than others to use USAREUR's housing area "mayors," church groups, chaplains, and other spouses in their soldiers' unit. These spouses were less likely to use most recreational services (HQ, USAREUR, 1991).

Different deployments had unique features that helped or hindered the families. The Gulf War enjoyed a higher level of public support than did either Somalia (Bell & Teitelbaum, 1993; Bell et al., 1996c) or Bosnia (Bell, 1997). According to McCubbin and Patterson (1983), such support should make it easier for the families to justify making sacrifices to support the soldier and other aspects of the deployment. Higher levels of public support were also related to more, and more visible, public help for Army families such as free childcare, space for meetings, and free advice on car maintenance (Bell et al., 1996b).

A related asset was the ability of spouses to believe in the purposes of the mission. We believe that spouses were more supportive of what was to be done during the Gulf War than during the Somalia and Bosnia deployments. During both of these latter deployments, support for the mission was found to be positively associated with spouse adaptation. For whatever reason, the level of spouse support for the mission was higher for Somalia than for Bosnia (Bell et al., 1997a). The main reasons spouses gave for not supporting the Bosnia mission were: the mission was too long; it was not likely to be successful; and Americans should be using their resources to solve American problems.

The ability of the family and soldier to communicate rapidly and reliably with one another has dramatically improved since World War II. We have moved from the letter, (World War II), to the telephone with a short-wave radio patch (Korea and Vietnam), to the direct dial overseas phone bank (Gulf War) and even E-mail (Somalia

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[10] During the Gulf War, Peterson (1992) found that among spouses of deployed soldiers, 44% of the spouses of junior enlisted and 14% of the spouses of other ranks had moved away from the post where they were living when the soldier deployed. Additional analyses have shown that the fact that these spouses were young, rather than that they had left the home installation accounted for their adaptation problems. Those who left the installation during the deployment were no worse off in terms of their adaptation to the deployment than were those who stayed. Furthermore, they might have been worse off had they not gotten the financial, emotional, and instrumental support from their relatives.

and Bosnia). Although the overseas telephone call is quite popular and useful, it can be quite expensive and thus introduce new problems into the family adaptation equation.[11]

Which Families Adapt Well to Deployments?

The vast majority of all Army families can and do adapt to the stresses of deployments. A USAREUR study during the height of the Gulf War found no difference between the ability of "deployed" and "non-deployed" spouses to meet the demands of daily life. Eighty-five percent of both groups said they were able to meet the family, work, and social demands that they faced (HQ, USAREUR, 1991). However, junior enlisted spouses of soldiers who deployed to the Gulf War had more problems than their counterparts who did not have a soldier who deployed (Bell, 1991).

Families with the most social, financial, and emotional resources tended to adapt best during a deployment. Thus, studies found that those who did best were better educated, older (experienced) spouses who were married to the more senior NCOs and officers (Bell et al., 1996b). They are more tuned into the Army channels of communication; they are more supportive of the mission; and they have fewer stress symptoms (Bell et al., 1997b). The fact that it is the older, more experienced spouses who are doing well is partly a factor of self-selection; those who could not cope or at least didn't like service life helped convince their soldiers to get out (Segal & Harris, 1993).[12]

From recent interviews with family service providers we identified four types of families that not only did not adapt well to deployments but also created a disproportionate amount of work for both volunteer and professional family service providers.
- The multiple problem family exhibited problems and was therefore known to the "family service community" well before the deployment starts. However, these problems can get much worse once the soldier has gone.
- The excessively dependent spouse was often someone who was young and inexperienced who does well as long as the soldier is present but is unprepared to cope alone.
- The overly demanding spouse expects that the Army will step in to fill the void created by the soldier's departure and is critical of any resistance or slowness in responding to a stream of demands.
- The families who are scheming to get the soldier an early return are particularly frustrating. They will create crises but then refuse to have the crises resolved unless the soldier's return is part of the solution.

A fuller description of these types of families and suggestions for dealing with them are detailed elsewhere (Bell et al., 1997a, 1997b; Bell et al., 1996b).

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[11] For a more detailed discussion of the changing modes of communication and their roles in helping couples adapt see Applewhite, Furukawa, Segal, & Segal, 1993; Applewhite & Segal, 1990; Bell, 1991; Bell, Schumm, Knott, and Ender, in press; Bell et al., 1996b; Ender, 1995, 1997; Ender & Segal, 1996; Harris, Rothberg, Segal, & Segal, 1993; Lewis, 1984; and Teitelbaum, Wood, & Gravino, 1989.

[12] According to Vernez and Zellman (1987), the most frequent or second most frequent reason that married service members give for getting out of service is "family separation." Alderks' (1998) and Peterson's (1997) research shows that family separation continues to be a prime reason why married soldiers leave the service.

Although the public associates deployments with high divorce rates, evidence supporting that association is scarce to date. It is clear that divorce rates rise and fall as a function of the availability of legal resources rather than the deployment, *per se* (Durand, 1992; Teitelbaum, 1991, 1992). For example, some courts do not allow a military couple to finalize a divorce if one or both partners are overseas, since the overseas partner might not receive a fair hearing unless they are present to voice their side of the story. Soldiers with weak marriages before the deployment are much more likely to get a divorce (Bell, 1998). Likewise, preliminary analyses done at the U.S. Army Research Institute indicate that deploying a soldier with a weak marriage (rather than leaving him/her in garrison) increases his/her chance of getting a divorce.

Needed Research

Although we have learned a great deal during the last 15 years about how families adapt to the stresses of deployments, there is a great deal more to learn. To accomplish this, there needs to be greater sharing within the military family research community of our past findings, our understanding of the issues to be addressed and our resources. In the current environment, the individual services study their own systems and experiences with no real check on whether what they are learning has applicability to other services. Likewise, we currently lack good mechanisms for regular interactions between government scientists and academic researchers. Each of these two groups has valuable resources that could be used more efficiently if they were harnessed in a more systematic fashion. Examples of how cooperation could be increased include: special conferences on identified military family topics, cooperative agreements between researchers and research users, and agreements among research organizations for pooling resources to accomplish larger (e.g., inter-service) projects.

One of the biggest needs within the services falls within the general domain of program evaluation. We know a lot more about what has been tried than what actually is effective in helping families. We know that certain services were used but we do not know why. Was a given spouse using the service to help himself or herself or some other family in his or her unit? Do services have a symbolic value? In other words does the presence of services indicate that the "Army cares about its families" and thus the services must remain even if no one uses them? Would family satisfaction with services increase if the services were all professionalized? Could the Army afford full professionalization? Are the services equally available during routine and non-routine deployments (and, if not, does that make a difference)?

Why is family separation associated with lower soldier retention? Is it because these families do not know how to cope with separation, have had "too much separation," or don't like separation even if they know how to cope with it? The answers to these questions have profound impacts on military family policies and services. Yet, we do not have good answers. The nature of separations has changed with the end of the cold war and the downsizing of the military. Are the new, shorter but more frequent deployments better or worse for families? Would the families benefit from knowing more about how the Army and its family service systems work?

Effects of 'New' Deployments

Much of the research on Army and Air Force deployments occurred before 1992, with a focus on Desert Shield/Storm and relatively rare deployments to other locations. Since 1992, compared to the Navy and Marine Corps, the Army and Air Force have been involved in more frequent deployments than in their past (Ritchie, Ruck, & Anderson, 1994). However, all branches of service have been subject to more frequent deployments, particularly for peacekeeping and humanitarian purposes. For example, a recent study looked at the percentage of enlisted service members with less than 10 years of service who received special "deployment pay" during the period 1993 to 1996. Although the Navy and Marine Corps members had higher rates (13% and 17%, respectively) than the Army and Air Force (10% and 7%, respectively) during the *entire* period, the deployments to Bosnia in 1996 made the Army (13%) equal to the Navy during that year (Sticha et al., 1998).

Whether or not what we have learned about past deployments can transfer to what we might guess about the effects of these new, more frequent deployments is uncertain. We need more research on how the characteristics of the deployment affect families. For example, how long is the deployment, was there adequate time between deployments, and does the soldier and the family consider this deployment "a good reason" for the soldier to be gone? Also, more research is needed to assess the impact of frequent deployments on reservists. Preliminary research to date suggests that the effects are more negative than positive (Schumm et al., 1998). It would also be helpful to know what are the effects on reservists (and reservists' families) of having soldiers called up as individuals rather than as part of intact units with their associated family support systems.

Research for both active and reserve component personnel should investigate how deployments affect mid-career personnel. These are the people who are not in the Army just for an adventure nor have they invested so much that they must stay till retirement, no matter what. Will the increased deployments make people more likely to leave the service at mid-career?

Research to date has concentrated mainly on the effects of increased deployments on service members and their spouses. We need more studies which focus on children and on non-traditional families who are often overlooked (e.g., stay-at-home husbands of female service members, single parent families).

Research would still be useful on the combined effects of unit leadership, the RDC, and the unit's FSG on the ability of families to adapt. Many studies have looked at these factors in isolation rather than at their combined coordinated effects.

Summary and Conclusion

Deployments have long been known to be stressful to military families. This finding is not surprising since they involve two elements of military life known to stress families—family separation and the risk of physical harm to the soldier. Family separation is not only stressful but is one of the chief reasons married soldiers give for leaving the Army. Thus, the Army has a practical interest in helping to alleviate the inevitable stresses of family separation during deployments.

Most of the spouses of deployed soldiers reported stress symptoms and nearly half said that the deployment had a negative effect on them. Marital satisfaction also falls during deployments but usually "bounces back" once the soldier returns. Contrary to what the public believes, deployments did not cause high divorce rates. Divorce rates rose and fell as a function of the availability of legal resources to obtain divorces. While couples who had weak marriages prior to the deployment were the ones who were more likely to divorce, some divorces that have occurred were unexpected.

Spouses long for useful information that will help them plan for separations: Where is the soldier going? When will s/he return? Is s/he in danger? And, how do I get in touch with him/her while s/he is gone? In general, spouses have more problems with fear and uncertainty than they do with the more mundane tasks of keeping a household going while the soldier is away. Good, fast, and reliable information has not always been available. However, rumors abounded. The soldier-spouse communication infrastructure has greatly improved over the years. Although quick and easy access to soldiers may improve spouse morale, it does not increase their willingness to support the mission. Good, helpful official sources of information improve both spouses' willingness to support missions and their ability to adapt to the inevitable stresses.

Two aspects of deployments intended to raise soldier and spouse morale are not always helpful. Both R&R leave and soldier-spouse reunion can be stressful. The main problem with R&R seemed to be that the spouses found it to be a wrenching experience to send the soldier back to the deployment. The main problem with *reunions* was that both parties had to adjust to how things had changed rather than being able to simply go back to where they had left off.

Families are helped to adapt by: assuming a positive attitude, relying on the help of friends and relatives, and, to a lesser extent, using some Army agencies that are particularly active during deployments. These agencies were the RDC, the Army Community Service, and the unit's FSG.

Most spouses can and do meet the demands of daily life during the deployment despite their emotional distress. However, about 10% of the spouses experience long-term problems re-adjusting to their marriages once the deployment is over. Families who adapt to the deployments more effectively are those with the most social, financial, and personal assets. Families unlikely to adapt are those who have no prior deployment experience, who have difficulties even before the deployment, and/or who expect the Army to either provide endless services or be willing to quickly return their soldiers.

A great deal has been learned about deployments and how to help military families to cope with them. Both the research and the experiences of family support practitioners have led to a wealth of programs and materials. The greatest need at this point is not to generate new information but rather to evaluate and integrate what we have. This could be done through targeted studies and conscious efforts to bring practitioners and researchers together to learn what works and how it can be better implemented in all of the services. There is also a need for a better link between the military and the academic communities so that the military can benefit from the latest thinking on how to improve service delivery in this important area.

FAMILY ADAPTATION TO DEPLOYMENTS

Annotated Bibliography

Bell, D. B. (1991, November). *The impact of Operations Desert Shield/Desert Storm on Army families: A summary of findings to date.* **Paper presented at the 53rd Annual Conference of the National Council on Family Relations, Denver, CO.**

Objective: The purpose of this report was to use a modified version of McCubbin's ABC-X model of family adaptation to organize and summarize the findings from multiple studies of how U.S. Army families were cope with the stresses of the Gulf War. The elements of the model include two stressors, three resources, and one outcome.

Results: Deployment produced a number of strains: danger, difficulty communicating, and multiple and missed good-byes. Some families also experience financial difficulties that are directly traceable to the deployment (e.g., the loss of a job or an economic downturn because the soldiers have left).

Life events were things that would have happened even without the deployment but which were often made worse because of the separation. Examples include household repairs, sick children, or the fact that some non-deployed spouses do not know how Army systems operate.

Family resources such as spouse education, experience, a positive outlook on life and financial assets were shown to make a difference in how well families coped.

Older spouses were likely to have already built social networks in the Army community where they live; younger spouses often moved to get needed supports. The researchers also noted that America and the Army, itself, also offered a good deal of support to the Gulf war families.

The family's framework for making judgments and making events predictable is called "coherence and meaning." Families who accepted the fact that much of what was happening in the deployment was beyond their control seemed to do better.

Family adaptation during the Gulf War was made to both the demands of the deployment and family life events. Most Army families were able to meet the demands of Army, family, work, and social life. However, there was some evidence that the spouses of junior enlisted soldiers were having less success meeting Army demands.

Conclusions: McCubbin's ABC-X model of family adaptation is helpful in summarizing this Gulf War data. Overall, it appears that although most spouses experienced real stress during this war, the also were able to adapt to it.

Bell, D. B., Bartone, J., Bartone, P. T., Schumm, W. R., Rice, R. E., & Hinson, C. (1997b, October). *Helping U.S. Army families cope with the stresses of troop deployment in Bosnia-Herzegovina.* **Paper Presented at the 1997 Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society Biennial International Conference, Baltimore, MD.**

Objective: A Europe-wide survey and visits to four U.S. Army communities were used to learn how well Europe-based Army spouses were coping with the stresses of having their soldier-spouses deployed as peacekeepers in Bosnia. The purpose of the report was to provide the scientific underpinning for findings and recommendations given earlier to Army managers.

Results: Spouse support for this mission was much lower than that seen for previous missions. But supporting the mission (which aids spouse adjustment) was positively correlated with age, being prepared for the deployment, participating in unit-based support groups, and soldier rank. Use of military information sources was associated with being more certain what the mission was about; communication with the soldier made no difference in whether the spouses understood and supported the mission. Most spouses said that the deployment was having a negative effect on them, their soldier and their children. Although stress levels were much higher than before the deployment, spouse adaptation was good. Interviews with service providers uncovered four types of families that were not adapting well: the multiple problem, the excessively dependent, the overly demanding, and the overly manipulative families. On the other hand, examination of Army assistance "programs" showed mostly positive results. Most spouses felt that the services were helpful. The Rest and Recuperation (R&R) program was favored by the spouses, but the spouses would have preferred to have more control over its timing. The telephone and mail links were much better than in previous deployments. However, the Army reduced the effectiveness of its family support professionals by insisting that one of its main agencies operate 24 hours a day/7 days a week. Likewise, drop-in, daily childcare—in short supply even before the deployment—seemed to have been less available during the Bosnia deployment.

Conclusions: Both the Europe-wide survey and the field visits to the Army communities provided useful information and recommendations for Army leaders. Overall, these Europe-based spouses and the services that were designed to help them seemed to be functioning well during the first six months of the Bosnia deployment.

Bell, D. B., Schumm, W. R, Segal, M. W., & Rice, R. E. (1996a). The family support system for the MFO. In R. H. Phelps & B. J. Farr (Eds.), *Reserve component soldiers as peacekeepers* **(pp. 355-394). Alexandria, VA: U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences.**

Objective: The purpose of the Multinational Force and Observers (MFO) is to act as the peacekeeping force that separates the Israeli and Egyptian forces in the Sinai Desert. The 28th U.S. contingent to the MFO was a composite force: 20% from the Active Component (AC) and 80% from the Reserve Component (RC) of the U.S. Army. The purpose of this report was to describe the family support system used by this experimental unit and to make recommendations for improving the system for future missions. The unit was studied at three points in time: when it was being formed, when it was deployed to the Sinai, and 18 months after it had returned to the U.S. and had been disbanded. This report covers the first two data collections.

Results: By necessity, the family support system that served the unit's families in 33 States was a hybrid: part AC and part RC. RC Families who lived in either of two "home states" participated more in the family support activities, received more services, and adapted better than did families living elsewhere. Spouses were more likely than soldiers to report that they used Army services and were satisfied with them. Both AC soldiers and spouses were more likely than their RC counterparts to say that the services were helpful. [This difference may be due to rank; most AC soldiers were leaders, whereas most RC were followers.] Most soldiers recommended that future units adopt the 28th MFO's family support system. Also, receiving support was associated with positive soldier and family outcomes.

Conclusions: The 28th MFO's family support system generally worked well. However, like most family support systems, this system tended to miss those families who did not live close to where services were being delivered (the AC installation from which the unit deployed or the two "home states" where most of the RC soldiers' families lived).

Bell, D. B., Stevens, M. L., & Segal, M. W. (1996b). *How to support families during overseas deployments: A sourcebook for service providers* **(Research Report 1687). Alexandria, VA: U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences.**

Objective: The report summarizes what has been found to help military families to cope with the stresses of overseas deployments. Although the review concentrates on Army studies that were completed between 1980 and 1996, it contains a listing of additional reports generated during earlier deployments and for other services.

Results: The Army's family support system is actually three interlocking systems: installation services, unit services and what the families do for themselves and others. The mostly unit-based Family Support Groups (FSGs) support families by organizing social events, holding informational meetings, and providing other sources of deployment information. The research shows how to keep an FSG functioning and how to more effectively serve families. The research also showed that there were many ways to staff and structure the second unit based service, the Rear Detachments (RDs). The ability of the RDs to support families depended upon the characteristics of its members, its workload, its relations with the families prior to the deployment, and whether it had a clear role in caring for the families that it served. The deployed unit also had a central role both before and after the unit was deployed. Installation services include family deployment briefings, budget counseling, emergency loans, and referral to family counseling services. The installation or the Army may also help families to communicate with their deployed soldier via government telephones and e-mail. Other research included how families cope and the special concerns of families who leave the installation or who come from the Army Reserve or National Guard. The report offers suggestions for how to improve the family support system in future deployments. The research showed that most Army families can cope with deployment stress; they experience stress symptoms but can meet the life demands placed upon them and can successfully adjust to the soldier's return. The few who do not adjust well (9-18% of the spouses) may need additional help.

Conclusions: The research reviewed the Army's system for helping its families cope with deployment stresses and how well the system has actually worked. It also showed that most families do cope well with deployments. The reports' extensive bibliography makes it particularly helpful to researchers. Its list of programs and other resources makes it also useful to service providers.

HQ, USAREUR (1991). *USAREUR personnel opinion survey 1991: General findings report. Vol. 1 Family* **(USAREUR Pamphlet 600-2). Heidelberg, Germany: Author.**

Objective: The focus of this report was on the impact of Desert Shield/Storm deployments on the spouses of American soldiers who deployed from to that conflict from Europe. The findings and conclusions in this report are based on a Europe-wide spouse survey that sampled 2,601 spouses of soldiers who deployed, 1,421 spouses of soldiers who did not deploy and 151 spouses whose deployment status is unknown.

Results: Spouses of deployed soldiers were more likely than their non-deployed counterparts to be concerned about their soldier's well-being and to be experiencing stress symptoms. Spouses of deployed soldiers were more likely to rate the following services as being "supportive:" Family Support Groups, Family Assistance Centers, and the unit's rear detachment. Spouses of deployed soldiers were more likely to have a Power of Attorney and a current will from their soldier. Spouses of deployed soldiers were more likely to report that they have someone outside of their homes to help them if they need help. Spouses of deployed and non-deployed soldiers were equally likely to say that they can meet their work, family, and social responsibilities and that they are meeting the demands of Army life

Conclusions: Most Europe based spouses were able to cope with the stresses of deployment. However, most had worries and concerns and most were experiencing some stress symptoms.

Schumm, W. R., Bell, D. B., Segal, M. W., & Rice, R. E. (1996). Changes in marital quality among MFO couples. In R. H. Phelps & B. J. Farr (Eds.), *Reserve component soldiers as peacekeepers* **(pp. 395-408). Alexandria, VA: U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences.**

<u>Objective:</u> The purpose of the Multinational Force and Observers (MFO) is to act as the peacekeeping force that separates the Israeli and Egyptian forces in the Sinai Desert. The 28th U.S. contingent to the MFO was a composite force: 20% from the Active Component (AC) and 80% from the Reserve Component (RC) of the U.S. Army. The purpose of this report was to describe how the deployment in this experimental unit affected the soldiers' marriages. The unit was studied at three points in time: when it was being formed, when it was deployed to the Sinai, and 18 months after it had returned to the U.S. and had been disbanded. This report covers the first two data collections.

<u>Results:</u> Both marital satisfaction and stability declined during the time the soldiers were with the unit. However, marital quality remained fairly constant. Changes in marital satisfaction were correlated with soldier morale and the soldiers' estimates of whether their marriages affected their ability to do their MFO jobs. This finding was particularly true among those whose marital satisfaction had declined. Those who reported that their marital satisfaction declined were also more likely to report that their spouses were not supportive of their decision to join the MFO and less likely to say that they worked together with their spouses as "an Army team." Drops in marital satisfaction were not directly associated with satisfaction with Army life or intentions to remain in the Army.

<u>Conclusions:</u> These findings strongly suggest that marital problems affect soldier performance and morale during deployments.

Schumm, W. Bell, D. B., & Tran, G. (1994). *Family adaptation to the demands of Army life: A review of findings* (Research Report 1642). Alexandria, VA: U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences.

Objective: This summary report discusses what is known about Army families' adaptation to challenges that are more present in military than civilian family life. These four challengers are identified as: frequent relocations (including living overseas), separation of family members, the fear of the dangers inherent in military life, and having to adjust to a very demanding and powerful "employer."

Results: The Army has come to accept that it has a responsibility to support families. The concept of what constitutes family adaptation has evolved.

Only 15-26% of families have severe problems with relocation. Relocation stressors include extra expenses, loss of spouse income and employment, problems finding suitable housing, and problems associated with adjusting to the new environment. Living outside the United States is associated with lowered marital satisfaction and emotional well-being.

Family separation is common in the Army because of the nature of the work. It is one of the most common reasons married soldiers give for leaving the Army. It also affects the health, emotional status, marital adjustment, and family roles assumed by Army spouses. Soldier re-entry into the family following the separation can also cause problems.

Most spouses are concerned about the well-being and safety of their soldier-spouses whenever they deploy to a hostile area. Most fears can be diminished by rapid and reliable soldier-family communications. Having official family briefings that tell what is happening to the soldiers and what social services are available also dampens fears. Experiencing "stress symptoms" is also common.

The Army is more like an institution than an employer. It demands long and unpredictable work hours, strongly encourages volunteer work and attendance at social functions, and allows less personal freedom.

Conclusions: Both Army and family actions can help families to adapt to these unique military challenges.

Segal, M. W. (1988). The military and the family as greedy institutions. In C. C. Moskos & F. R. Wood (Eds.), *The military: More than a job*. Washington, DC: Pergaman-Brassey's International Defense Publishers, Inc.

Objective: The purpose of this report is to show how married service members balance the demands of two very demanding organizations: the military and the family. Showing how the military and the family have had to adapt in the face of changes within the larger society makes the argument.

Results: Both by law and custom, employers make limited demands on employees. However, these limitations are fairly recent. To survive, institutions must find ways to get their members to participate and be committed to their goals. Most of the demands the military makes on the family are indirect—through demands placed on the service member. Examples of these demands include risk of injury or death of the service member, geographic mobility, periodic separation of the service member from the rest of the family, and residence in foreign countries. Normative pressures are also directly exerted on family members regarding their roles in the military community. Family acceptance of these demands must include their willingness to relocate, keep their family functioning in the member's absence and obey the rules of the military community.

The military can also adapt to the needs of its families. It can (and has) increased family services. It can (and has) responded to the complaints of military family associations and individual spouses.

Conclusions: The more the military services adapt to family needs, the more commitment they will see in the families. Thus the military will gain from its cooperation with the families and will not have to change into "just another occupation."

Segal, M. W. & Harris, J. J. (1993). *What we know about Army families* **(Special Report 21). Alexandria, VA: U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences.**

Objective: This report reviews and draws recommendations from 72 reports that were initiated in response to the Army Chief of Staff's 1983 call for family research. The areas covered were: Army family demography, the status of Army family agencies, and how Army family adaptation to Army life affects soldier retention and mission readiness.

Results: The biggest demographic change in the Army has been the increase in the percentage of junior enlisted soldiers who are married. Among males, the longer the tenure, the more likely they are to be married. Increases in single parents, dual military couples, and working spouses have not proven to be detrimental to the military.

In general, married soldiers are more committed to the military career than are single soldiers. Having children increases the probability of staying in the service for males but has the opposite effect for females. Believing that the Army is a good place to raise a family increases retention. Having a female civilian spouse who is supportive of the member staying in the Army also increases retention.

The "readiness" of individual soldiers to perform their mission was found to be associated not only with the characteristics of the soldiers, themselves, but also with the units' family policies and soldier perception of the quality of the unit. Likewise, a surprising number of family factors were related to whether units were considered ready to perform their missions.

The ability of families to adapt to the military is affected by whether the military provides needed formal and informal family support. The services that soldiers and families are most likely to say that the Army should provide are financial and emergency services.

Conclusions: Family factors are more important to Army outcomes than was believed prior to this research.

Van Vranken, E. W., Jellen, L. K., Knudson, K. H. M., Marlowe, D. H., & Segal, M. W. (1984). *The impact of deployment separation on Army families* (WRAIR Report NP-84-6). Washington, DC: Department of Military Psychiatry, Walter Reed Army Institute of Research.

Objective: The purpose of this report is to explore what the psychological and health consequences were for the families of soldiers who were deployed on a peacekeeping mission in the Sinai for six months. Interviews and questionnaires were collected from the unit's spouses at four points in time: four weeks prior to deployment, twice during the deployment, and 4-6 weeks after the soldiers had returned.

Results: Over 25% of the spouses left "the area" during the deployment. Most of these went to live with relatives in order to cut expenses and increase the availability of social supports. The most frequent stress of daily living involved parent/child relationships. Attitudes towards the Army shifted from positive to neutral among the wives of NCOs and officers. They shifted from neutral to negative among the wives of the junior enlisted soldiers. Many wives experienced physical symptoms and anger when the husbands returned. The unit's wives rated the effect of the deployment: positive by 40%, neutral by 29% and negative by 31%. The overwhelming majority of the wives had readjusted to the husband's return within two months of his return. The unit's rear detachment was the most used Army "service." It also helped deployed soldiers. The study also comments on the use and helpfulness of other Army supports.

Conclusions: Deployment separations generate disruption and stress in many Army families. Most of these families, however, were able to cope. However, the families of junior enlisted soldiers seemed to have more problems. Both informal and formal support is helpful to different families. An unanticipated finding was that the significance of the unit as a source of support and the extent to which families sought support, particularly information and informal support.

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Chapter 7

THE CHANGING ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE MILITARY
AND ITS IMPACT ON THE FAMILY

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Introduction

Since the implementation of the All Volunteer Force the proportion of women in the military has increased steadily—from 1.6% in 1973, to 8.5% in 1980, to 11.8 percent in 1993 (Maisels & Gormley, 1994). At present, almost 14% of active duty personnel are women. The percentages of active duty women vary in the different services, ranging from the highest (17%) in the Air Force to the lowest (5%) in the Marine Corps (DMDC, 1997). While the overall number of active duty personnel is decreasing, the percentage of active duty women in the armed forces is still growing. Furthermore, military jobs open to women are increasing at rates that ensure opportunities for women to take on less traditionally female occupations. For example, almost all Air Force jobs are now open to women and the Navy has opened most shipboard assignments to women. Currently, 47% of active duty women are married (DMDC, 1997). A little more than half of these (54%) are in dual-military marriages; the other 46% are married to civilians.

These figures reflect significant changes in gender roles in the society at large and in the military as well. There has been considerable research interest in how the increased presence of women in ever more diverse types of military roles affects morale, job performance, and operational readiness as well as how women compare to men in performance of military duties (Alderman, 1992; Bray, Murchison, & Walker, 1998; Deutermann, 1984; Lyons, 1991; McNally, 1985; & Spearing, 1989). This chapter extends the exploration of women's roles by pursuing a somewhat different and more specific focus. We address the question, "What effect has the changing role of women in the military had upon the family?"

This is a topic of potential interest to many professional audiences. These include historians, social scientists, military policy planners, members of the military themselves, and indeed all who are concerned with the intersection of occupational issues and family concerns. On a more personal level, such a question may also strike a familiar chord with anyone who now has, or who has ever had, a servicewoman in the family. Despite its potential to touch the lives of many, we find that surprisingly few resources have been systematically devoted to exploring an answer to this straightforward question.

Given this state of the literature, one important observation must both begin and end our discussion. That is the notion that these two concepts historically have not belonged together! Stated another way, the ascriptive status of "woman" (in particular, the status of "mother") and the role of "warrior" in a society have frequently been conceptualized as mutually exclusive categories. They belonged, or were supposed to belong, to separate spheres or realms of human experience. Imagining a situation in which these spheres routinely overlap represents a major shift in perspective. To find a simultaneous concern for both family roles and warrior roles among women pushes us into new and previously unexplored territory. A major *new* type of paradigm is necessary to replace the previous set of assumptions guiding us in this arena. To move forward in pursuit of this question, it is necessary to develop a new way of thinking about things that were previously unknown or hidden from view. It is (in military language) to sail into uncharted waters with new technology (that is, with new conceptual tools or frames of reference), and to move forward cautiously, but in the hopes of discovery.

This chapter will address what we know how the changing role of women in the military affects the family. It will also identify important gaps in the study of this question, and what the most likely areas of research could be for this topic in the future. References cited reflect important recent contributions to this body of literature (primarily the late eighties and beyond) and refer to published materials or to documents easily accessible through DTIC (Defense Technical Information Center) or other reprint services.

"Women in the Military" and "The Family": Four Types of Literature

The conceptual framework developed here is a taxonomy, that is, an effort to classify. We must look at the *types* of literature that have simultaneously focused their attention on a) women in the military and, in particular, on the changing role of women in that organization, and b) the family. The four types of literature that we will examine are: 1) historical writings (especially memoirs), 2) descriptive demographics, 3) research studies with feedback loops, and 4) studies that deal with sexuality and the social construction of gender as explanatory frameworks.

Category #1. Historical Writings, Especially Memoirs[1]

Women's participation in and with the Armed Forces is not a recent event. In fact, from the time of the American Revolution onward, women have kept diaries and

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[1] For additional works in Category #1, see Larson (1995); Schneider, D. & Schneider, C. J. (1991); and Van Devanter, L. with Morgan C. (1983).

journals detailing their military participation. Likewise since that time, women have also—although marginally—figured in official organizational histories. In the latter half of the twentieth century, and especially since the seventies, a variety of personal memoirs from women in the military and women veterans have appeared. Some of these titles have included a focus upon both the servicewoman's military experiences and her family (her parents and siblings, as well as her husband and children). By way of contrast, much of the writing from servicemen, past and present, has focused heavily upon military matters. That is, it concentrates on the conduct of war and either the serviceman's part in it, his unit's part in it, or both. It has largely de-emphasized or even excluded a discussion of the serviceman's family life or family concerns.

Why this should be the case again takes us back to the separate spheres argument, but also makes us look at another related assumption contained within this traditional paradigm or set of prevailing principles. This is the notion that the most important *job* of a soldier (or sailor, or airman) is of secondary concern to the organization. Thus we uncover the assumption that being a member of the military is *a master status*—"a status that cuts across the other statuses that an individual occupies" (Henslin, 1999, p. 651). This master status as "member of the military organization" is considered to be more important than one's status as father/son/brother or as mother/daughter/sister. Since "service member" and not "family member" is the master status, it follows that "member of the military" should be the prevailing way of thinking about the individual in both the organization and in the individual's own mind.

To convey this notion of service member as the master status was relatively easy (both organizationally and individually) when the military was staffed by young, mostly unmarried, men whose place in a family as brother or son could organizationally be de-emphasized. Furthermore, everybody (including the family) went along with this way of thinking. Initially, the expectations for servicewomen were the same as those for servicemen in this regard. The services mainly wanted to admit and retain only unmarried women. If these women had family responsibilities, these were of secondary importance—they were a personal and private, rather than an organizational and public, concern and responsibility. These initial expectations of female military members reflected an earlier bias on the part of the mostly-male military services, which was expressed in the statement (often attributed to drill sergeants): "If the Army wanted you to have a wife, it would have issued you one."

This presumption of master status as service member was more organizationally difficult for the military to uphold with married men, particularly those who also had father roles. However, the military ingeniously solved the dilemma of the competition for the individual's allegiance between the two "greedy institutions" of the military and the family (Devilbiss & Perrucci, 1982; Segal, 1986). They made the family, by law and definition, an extension of the master status of service member. Like the serviceman, the *family* now came under the purview of the organization; wives and children were "dependents" to be provided for by the serviceman *through* the government. Particularly important here were two assumptions. First, financial support would be provided to the family through an increase in the serviceman's pay as the size of his family increased. Second, what would come to be called "caregiving activities"—the *time* spent in taking care of dependents (particularly children)—was, by

definition, a part of the job that was the responsibility of the not-employed-outside-of-the-home military wife.

What the military perhaps was not prepared for, however, especially in recent years, was the difficulty that it would have in confining and defining its servicewomen (and, increasingly, also its servicemen) to the single master status of service member. It is not surprising that servicewomen should think of themselves in relationship to a *number* of groups, the military *and* the family, for instance, and not as standing in relationship to any one group exclusively. If indeed servicewomen see themselves in a constellation or network of relationships, such an inclination would follow the trend in this perception for U.S. women in general (and a burgeoning trend developing among young men).

In our first category of literature entitled "historical writings, especially memoirs," we can find several important clues to better understand the connection between "women in the military" and "the family." We see, for example:

- more writings by military women and women veterans. They are no longer invisible and silent participants in the enterprise of warfare, so their role is changing in this regard;
- more importance placed on the family in these writings. They see both their status a military member and their status as a family member as important to them;
- the need to treat these historical writings, memoirs, and organizational histories as primary sources for future research to further identify and explore key theme areas related to the intersections between "the changing role of women in the military" and "the family." The use of content analysis and related analytical methods would be especially important tools.

Category #2. Descriptive Demographics

Another type of literature on the changing role of women in the military and their families has concentrated upon the changing demographics of the military population. By definition, these changing demographics have been related to changes in military policies. To illustrate the case in point, as *roles* for women in the military have been modified, their numbers and scope of participation in the military have also fluctuated. For instance, The Women's Armed Services Integration Act of 1948, Public Law 625, set an upper limit on the numbers of women who could be in the military: 2% of the total force (Devilbiss, 1990). When the 2% cap was lifted in 1967, the numbers and percentages of women in the military increased. Also accompanying increased numbers and percentages of women in the military since 1967 have been expanded roles for women as more military specialties have been opened up to them.

It is a scientific axiom that one of the most necessary steps in understanding a phenomenon is the ability to measure it. Thus, the changing role of women in the military has been subject to continuing demographic scrutiny. Important is the notion that as women increased in number in the military, more attention was, of necessity, paid to their presence. Particularly as their numbers increased beyond 10% of the total force, their presence could no longer be ignored for a number of important organizational reasons (Holm, 1992).

One of these reasons was personnel assignments. Because of the constraints of assignment placed upon them by the military, women as groups were a restricted assignment "class." This meant that by law—Title X U.S.C. sections 60154 and 8549—and by policy women were assigned to certain types of duties. Therefore, there were only certain personnel slots that women could fill. The problem was how to take a significant number of "restricted availability" service members and assign them alongside the rest of the group (i.e., servicemen) who had no such restrictions on their assignments. Moreover, operating here for women was not only the reality that certain types of jobs were closed to them. Job specialty closure had a domino effect, making certain types of units, locations, and training also closed to women as a class. A woman's ability to perform a job and/or her interest in it, was not a consideration. In this case, another master status—her gender, not her military status as service member—was what was important.

In addition to the many restrictions surrounding servicewomen's assignments, training, and utilization, the military was changing policies pertaining to family factors which likewise had an important organizational impact. In the last three decades of the twentieth century, the services have become an increasingly married force. Alongside this was a growing societal change in the roles and expectations of women and men. These changes meant that the various kinds of family needs of service members were becoming more organizationally important. High on the list of needs was the whole question of care for a service member's dependents. Dependent care (here defined predominately as "childcare") could no longer be automatically provided by the stay-at-home wife because increasing numbers of women (to include military wives) were now working outside the home. Reflecting these new organizational realities, Family Service Centers and childcare services had to be provided. But the military did not know the extent of the need for such services unless it kept up with the demographic shifts in its population. Especially crucial for the military services to determine in this context were the following composition variables in its population of men and women: gender and age (a factor in childbearing), size of family, age of children, and—a new variable!—the presence in the military of "dual-military" couples (paralleling the rise of dual career couples in the civilian sector). Dual military couples were especially a concern when it came to geographical assignments. This meant that now the unit of analysis as assignment rotations came up was not the individual service member (the assumption of the prevailing paradigm), but rather the two-person service member couple.

One of the outcomes of these important shifts was the increased demographic tracking of the changing military population. Thus a second type of literature on "the changing role of women in the military" and "the family" came about. In this category, we see an emphasis upon:
- a descriptive literature that attempts primarily to document the trends in a changing military population; and,
- secondarily, a literature that attempts to identify some of the implications of these shifts as it looks at some of the changing needs of this increasingly diverse population.

Category #3. Research Studies with Feedback Loops[2]

Following closely and building upon the descriptive demographic literature on the changing role of women in the military and the family came a related area of scientific interest on this topic. This research concentrated upon exploring the changing needs of this changing population, with an important new twist. It focused upon identifying the effects originating from the variable "the family" that were specifically aimed at and affected the variable "women in the military." Here the research has supposedly taken "the family" as its starting point and has examined the question of how particular aspects of "the family" have impacted upon certain realities important to the military woman herself. There are three important feedback loops represented in this type of literature.

The first major feedback loop is how the servicewoman's family situation contributes to her deployability status, that is, her ability to be assigned, perhaps on very short notice, to duty worldwide. The second feedback loop has to do with how the servicewoman's family situation plays a role in her intention to reenlist in the military after a period of service, or (in some cases) with the young civilian woman's propensity to enlist in the Armed Forces in the first place. The third feedback loop has to do with the type and quality of family care provided to the service members (women and men) and their families. Here the implication is that such family care is of importance to the physical and mental well-being of the individual service member. Conclusions in the majority of this research have pointed to the importance of family situation variables in the overall well-being of the service member, their job performance, and their re-enlistment intentions.

Several observations about this genre of research must be made. One of these is the importance of the assumptions surrounding the operational definitions of the research. Each of the major research emphases discussed in the preceding paragraph takes as its starting point not the research variable "the family" but rather, more precisely, the research variable "the family situation." It focuses on the actual, real life circumstances of the institution of the family that characterize the individual servicewoman's home life and responsibilities. Put another way, what is typically examined in this type of research is not the social institution of "the family," but rather "the family situation" of the individual servicewoman or serviceman. These "family situation" variables include the presence or absence of a spouse (and whether or not that spouse is also a service member) and/or the presence or absence of dependents and the ages of those dependents. These latter are perhaps proxy variables for "level of family responsibility" or "time that the service member must spend in family-member care."

A crucial observation to be made here is the importance of the feedback loop itself: why is it so noteworthy? Why are "the family situation" characteristics of the individual service member so important? When we ask this question, we can see more clearly why this type of research focuses so greatly upon the *kinds of* feedback loops mentioned earlier. The point here is that this research is not so much concerned with its supposed starting point ("the family situation"). What is at issue, rather, are the

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[2] For additional works in Category #3, see Burnam, M. A., Meredith, L. S., Sherbourne, C. D., Valdez, R. B., & Vernez, G. (1990); Landrum, C. S. (1980); Reeves, C. L. (1995) and Wertsch, M. E. (1991).

effects of these family situation variables upon the service member's organizational commitment (sometimes seen as the variable "job performance" or the variable "retention intent"). The feedback loop studies have been concerned with the question: how do family situation variables (such as presence or absence of a spouse, number and age and health of dependents) affect the individual serviceman's or servicewoman's job performance and their commitment to the military as a whole?

It is also important to understand that the feedback loop does not stop at the point of predicting the individual service member's organizational commitment to the military, important as that variable may be. The underlying assumption here rests upon the linkage between a) the individual service member's commitment to the military and b) the military's "readiness," the organization's ability to perform its mission. No single individual (as seen in the importance of the "Ultimate Contract" which each person must sign upon entrance into the military) is more important than the ultimate success (organizational performance) of the military itself. To understand this is to understand why trained individuals and, to a much lesser extent, trained individual's *families* are important to the military. To put it rather crudely, service member's families are important to the military to the extent that they have a positive or negative impact upon the service member's training, commitment, and availability to the organization. The ability of the military organization to successfully perform its mission is the military's "bottom line." Factors contributing positively to this success are emphasized; those factors detracting from it (to include the demands from any other social institution, such as "the family") are seen as organizationally problematic.

To look closely at this type of literature on "women in the military" and "the family" leads us further into the underlying assumptions of the prevailing traditional paradigm. In the feedback loop research models, the service member can be characterized as the intermediate or intervening variable between the family and the military organization, having a status (that is, a membership with certain role responsibilities) in both "camps." The military, in this paradigm, does not see itself and the family as placing *equally* important demands upon the service member's time, loyalty, and resources. From the military organization's point of view, its own demands upon the individual have a greater priority than the family's. (Here, the military can be seen as organizationally similar to a large business corporation that likewise places greedy demands upon its corporate members.)

In summary, we find this third category of literature to highlight the following:
- in this genre of literature, the military and the family are more obviously seen as at odds with one another, as competing, not cooperative, institutions;
- research emphases in this category have included concerns about special populations in the military: dual career military couples, single parent military families, and pregnant service members;
- when considering "the changing role of women in the military" and "the family," the latter is taken as the starting point and is assumed to have a one-way effect. That is to say, with few exceptions (see works by Reeves, 1995; and Wertsch, 1991), little consideration overall is given to the effects of "the changing role of women in the military" upon "the family." Instead there are two *competing* master statuses: service member and family member, the former being the more organizationally important one.

Category #4. Studies Concerned with Sexuality and the Social Construction of Gender[3]

The final category we will examine consists of a small but emerging literature that looks at the importance of sexuality and of gender in the workplace and in the family. At the present time, this is a nascent literature when applied to the intersection of the two topics under consideration here: "the changing role of women in the military" and "the family." However, this kind of approach holds promise and may provide a useful new set of research tools in these arenas.

An important theme in this literature is the very gendered nature of human experience. That is to say, in a society, maleness and femaleness is important not because of its underlying biology, but because of the societal expectations that are built up on this underlying biology. Such expectations get translated into cultural "drivers" that greatly affect how we construct social reality. These notions impact how we think about war, how we think about families and procreation, and ultimately how we think about political life itself.

When we begin to seek such very fundamental levels of inquiry as these—and this literature can bring us to this—we arrive at a possible "quantum leap" standpoint. We begin to frame research questions like this: Suppose that between the years 2000 and 2025, the changing role of women in the military moves in the direction of equality with men in the military? (This would be simply the extension and continuation of a trend toward greater incorporation of women that began in the seventies.) What does this then mean? Do women have equal assignment and training possibilities and equal numbers as men in the military? What does an armed force "look like" (and what does such a force require) that has a 50/50 gender ratio? What implications does such a force structure have for "the family"? Are there worldwide duty issues, childcare (and elder care) issues? Are there new family forms (more dual career military couples or families with one employed spouse—the service woman) that must be considered in the future? Are there "domestic partner" issues to deal with as well? If the role of women in the military changes in the direction of greater equality with men, will that mean an increasingly married or an increasingly single force, because of the unique demands of the military lifestyle? Will the military itself change as an institution in response to changes in its overall mission, moving away from direct combat and moving toward more peacekeeping and nation-building types of tasks? And how will this change in the military itself affect the demands and expectations that the military has of its members and their families?

At this point, we can only begin to pose such questions. Some promising approaches in the "gender studies" field may help us to explore some of the implications of these questions in the future. One of the biggest concerns, however, will be getting this relatively new field to shed its light upon a particular population (women in the military) by having scholars trained in this field become interested in pursuing research in this area.

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[3] See also Inness, S. A. (1999).

Identifying Important Gaps in the Literature and Suggestions for Future Research

We are now in a position to identify important gaps in the research on the question "What effect has the changing role of women in the military had upon the family?" We can observe the following:

- It is only since the seventies that "women in the military" and "the family" have been given attention in the same sentence.
- Most empirical studies have failed to portray "the military" and "the family" as *two* important social institutions that can be seen to have *mutual* influences upon one another.
- New "types" of families (family forms) and their potential influence have been underestimated and under-analyzed in this research.
- Theory construction in this arena is underdeveloped, but there are important and promising new approaches on the horizon, especially within the new field of gender studies.
- How "the changing role of women in the military" will affect the *social institution* of "the family" is a topic that is virtually unexplored. (The argument that the numbers of military families with service women in them is so small that their impact on such a large social institution as the family would be slight at best is an objection, which attempts to marginalize the importance of this suggestion. The impetus for change in the social institution of the family often arises from the experiences of small but significant sub-groups of families in the population.)

Suggestions for future research in this area include the emphasis upon studying "the changing role of women in the military" and "the family" as conceptually *related* research topics. To move forward in this arena, however, requires that we have an understanding of the current sets of assumptions (paradigms) surrounding these issues and that we identify and begin to elaborate new paradigms. The set of diagrams and the brief discussion that follow are offered as an attempt to initiate dialogue on the questions that these conceptual models raise.

We start with the important observation stated at the outset of this discussion: that the ascriptive status of "woman" (in particular, the status of "mother") and the role of "warrior" in a society historically have not been seen as belonging together. They have been viewed as parts of two different and competing spheres or realms of human experience. This way of thinking has resulted in the Traditional Paradigm relationship between "the military" (and especially, women's roles within it) and "the family," as diagrammed in Figure 1.

Figure 1: The Military and The Family: A Traditional Paradigm

The Military

The Family

No relationship; Separate spheres
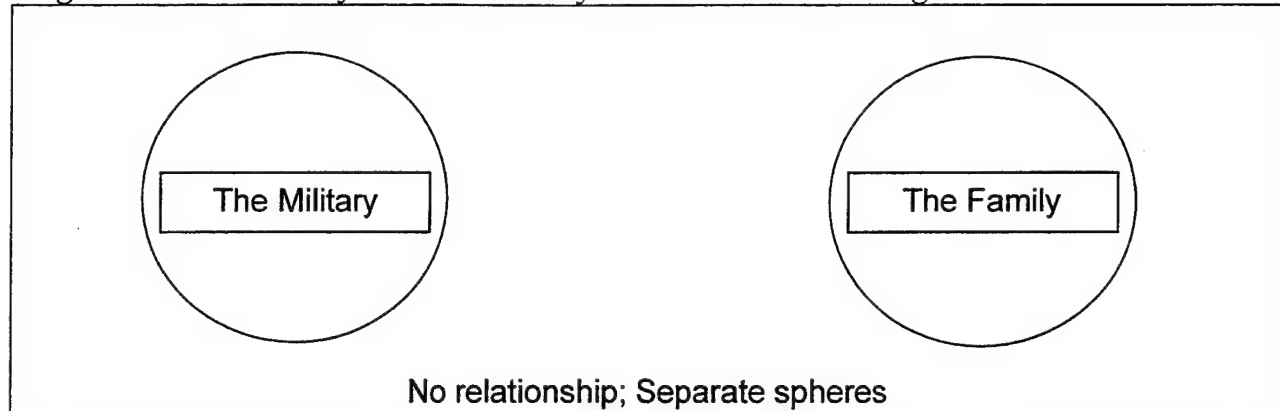
One important consequence of the changing role of military women in the last half of the twentieth century has been a movement toward two sets of Transitional Paradigms. These have as their guiding assumptions the following, respectively: "the family" is subsumed *within* the military's purview of responsibility, and/or "the family" is important to the military to the extent that it impacts upon the service woman's time and skills, job performance, and commitment to the military organization itself. These two Transitional Paradigms are diagrammed in Figure 2. (Note how closely the models in Figure 1 and Figures 2a and 2b follow the assumptions in the types of literature discussed in Category 1, 2, and 3.)

Figure 2a & 2b: The Military and the Family: Two Transitional Paradigms

2a: The Military attempts to absorb or assimilate The Family

The Military
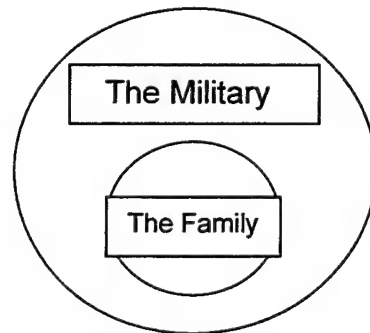
The Family

2b: There is a one-way relationship between The Military and The Family

The Military
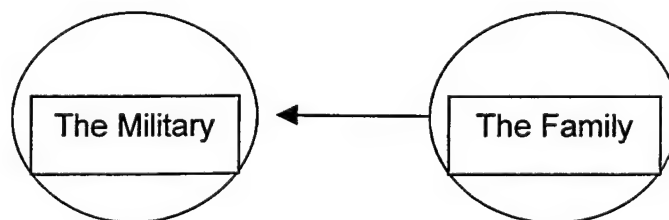
The Family

An emerging third paradigm, which will be of increasing importance in the 21st century, is the model diagrammed in Figure 3 depicting a mutual and reciprocal relationship between the social institutions of the military and the family (cf., Category #4). In particular, as changes occur overall in the social institution of the family and other social institutions, these changes will impact upon the military and its changing roles for women. Some of these changes in the social institution of the family to which the military must pay close attention in the future include, but are not limited to, the following twelve areas:

1) the changing societal norms concerning "appropriate" roles and expectations for women, in the workplace and the family;
2) the increasing number of women in the labor force (especially the increasing percentage of working women with children under the age of six);
3) the rise of dual career families (especially important for the military is the rising number of dual career military couples);
4) the rising numbers of single parent families, many of whom are headed by women, some of whom are headed by unmarried or never-married women (will the military become a "draw" for a single mother because of its benefits for children, for example?);
5) the increasing number of "blended families" in U.S. society (those families whose members were once part of other family constellations) and a comparable rise in the number of blended families and the special concerns relating to them in the military;
6) the increasing demands placed on the "sandwich generation" (especially baby-boom generation women, now at mid-career and higher ranks in the military) to provide care for both their young children and their aging parents;
7) the increasing importance of some previously neglected or under-considered demographics of the family—especially race, ethnicity, and religion—and the implications for the military as its percentages of non-White, non-Christian or non-Jewish families rises, reflecting overall societal patterns;
8) the increasing public attention being paid to the issue of domestic violence (and the impact in general upon the military of this negative or "darker" side of family life [Henslin, 1999]);
9) the changing (and increasing) requirements of military family members regarding health care and specialized educational needs (particularly important here will be research on toxic exposure risks for military women and birth defects research);
10) the persistent questions surrounding the military's role in family planning issues and options, especially the long historical controversy over abortions and how and when the military provides them (this set of issues in the future may also include concerns pertaining to technological revolutions in the field of health science and their related impact on questions of bioethics, such as "When does human life begin or end?" and "Under what circumstances can human tissue or frozen gametes be utilized?" These questions may have particular significance for military family policy in the future);
11) the increasing public attention being focused upon the issues of gay and lesbian domestic partners and homosexual "marriages" (the military, like corporate America, will be faced with such concerns in the future and forced to deal with them, whether it wants to or not);

12) the changing definition of "family" itself, especially "intentional families" (a term referring to groupings based on choice, rather than groupings based on common ancestry or other recognized legal ties [Henslin, 1999]) with all of the attendant ramifications that this has for decision-making in the family policy arena.

Figure 3: The Military and The Family: An Emerging Paradigm

A two-way relationship; mutual influences
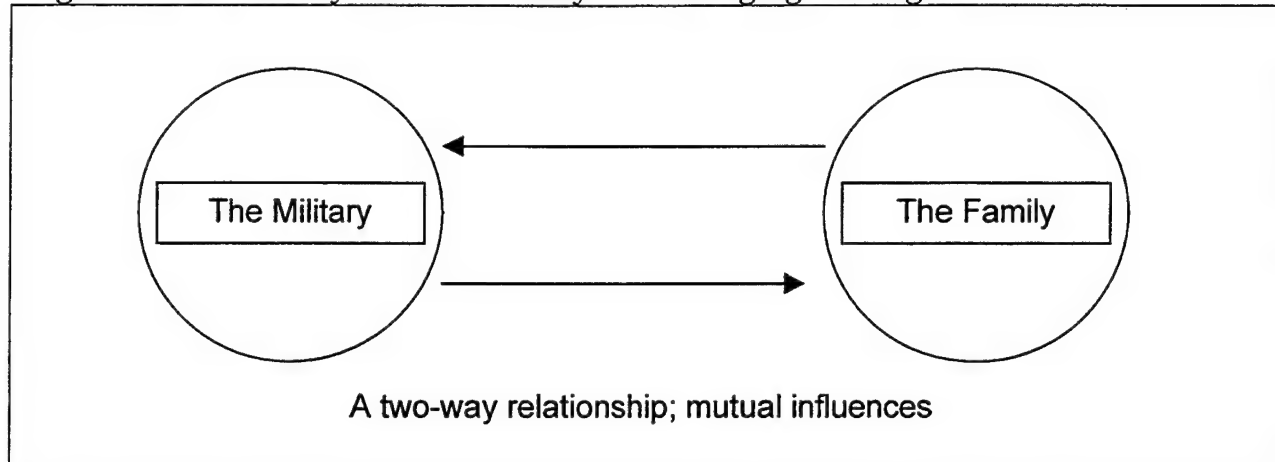
An important final point can be made here. Not to be forgotten in all of this is the connection of both the social institutions of the military and the family with another important societal institution: the economy. Any theory building and subsequent research on the question of the changing role of women in the military and its effects on the family must attempt to take into account and to specify the relationships among all three of these social institutions. A diagram of this three-way relationship appears in Figure 4. In this figure, the reader's attention is purposely drawn to the middle of the diagram, that is, to the synergy center of the model where all three social institutions intersect. It is precisely at this locus that new ways of framing the questions we have been considering can begin. It is from the center or "heart" of such a proposed new systems model that new research on the question of the changing role of women in the military and its impact upon the family can most productively be addressed in the future.

Figure 4: The Military, The Family, and The Economy: A Systems Approach
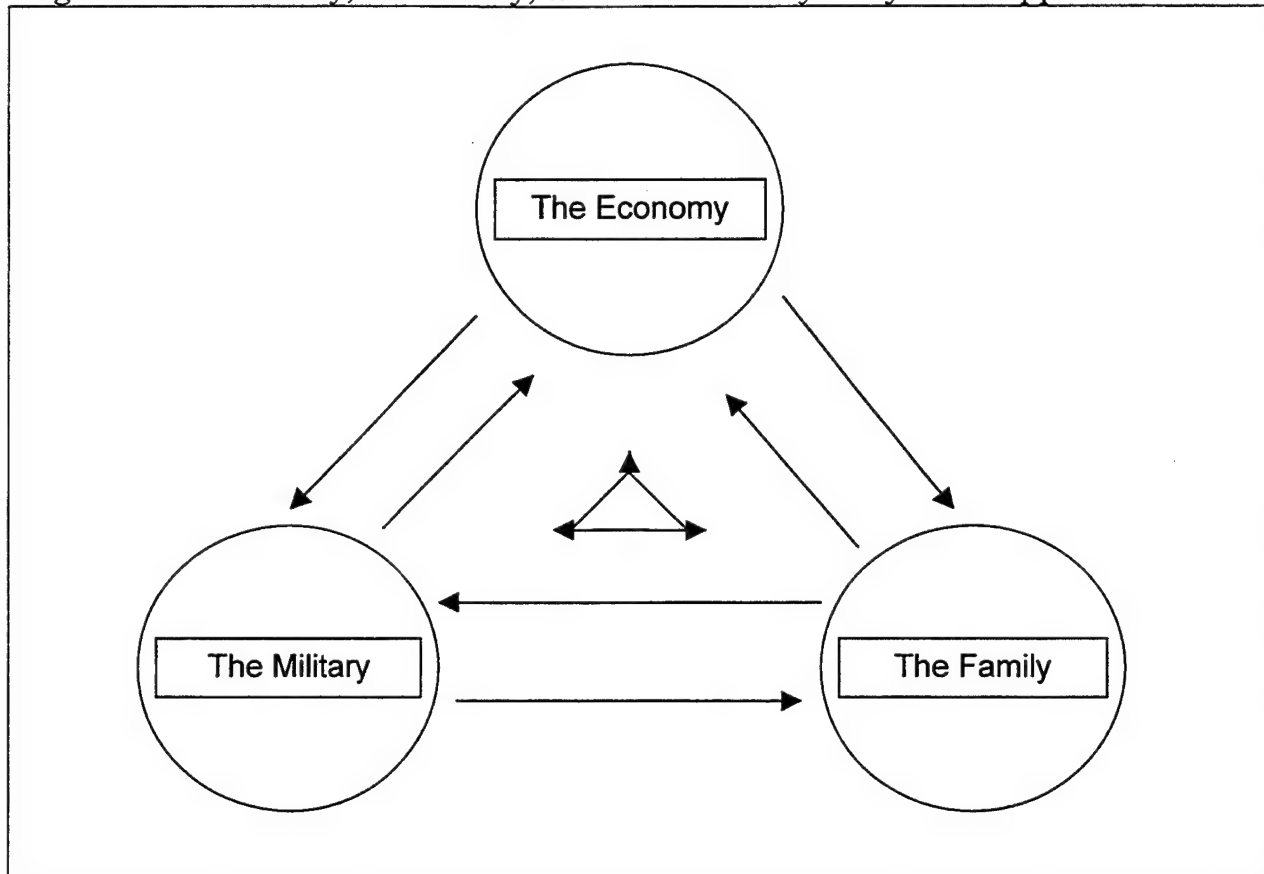
Conclusion

One important observation must begin and end our discussion of the question, "What effect has the changing role of women in the military had upon the family?" This is the notion that these two concepts don't belong (or more accurately, historically have not belonged) together. However, the message for the future is clear. The traditional way of dealing with these issues by separating them or by compartmentalizing them no longer represents either good science (because its explanatory power is weak) or realistic policy-making alternatives (because the world on which past policy decisions was based is not the world in which we currently live). The question, "What effect has the changing role of women in the military had upon the family?" will likely be most productively heard with new ears and explored with new lenses as we confront a different set of military—and family—realities in a rapidly changing and multi-dimensional world.

CHANGING ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE MILITARY

Annotated Bibliography for Category #1

Barkalow, C. & Rabb, A. (1990). *In the men's house.* **New York: Poseidon Press.**

A member of the Class of 1980 (the first gender integrated class) at the U.S. Military Academy, Captain Carol Barkalow, describes her career as a West Point graduate in the Army of the eighties. While this book focuses largely upon her military experiences at the academy and in the field as a newly commissioned officer, Captain Barkalow also includes information on her family and its impact upon her military life. This book provides many insights into the pioneering efforts of a new breed of military officer—women graduates of the nation's military academies—and the issues they face in common with and apart from their male peers.

Cornum, Rhonda as told to Peter Copeland. (1992). *She went to war: The Rhonda Cornum story.* **Novato, CA: Presidio Press.**

An autobiography of an Army major shot down and captured during the Gulf War, this book provides a unique insight into an heroic woman's experience under fire. Many insights are offered about the effects of these experiences upon Major Cornum and her family.

Dean, D. M. (1997). *Warriors without weapons.* **Pasadena, MD: The MINERVA Center.**

Difficult to read because of its subject matter, this is a very forthright book about a woman veteran suffering from the effects of post-traumatic stress disorder brought on by her military experiences. A compelling book that reminds us clearly of the connections between health, work, and family life, this intensely written story speaks of a largely unvoiced, yet extremely important, experience affecting many military women.

Ebbert, J. & and Hall, M. B. (1993). *Crossed currents: Navy women from WWI to Tailhook.* **Washington, DC: Brassey's.**

This is a concise one-volume history of women in the U.S. Navy from early to late twentieth century. Especially important to the topic of the changing role of women in the military and its impact upon the family are two of the later chapters in the book "Women at Sea" and "Contemporary Currents."

Stiehm, J. H. (1989). *Arms and the enlisted woman.* **Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.**

Stiehm examines the particular policies and experiences shaping the context for enlisted women in the U.S. Armed Forces. Section III of the book containing chapters on "Public Opinion," "Biology, Sex, and the Family," and "Myths Necessary to the Pursuit of War" are particularly relevant to the question of the changing role of women in the military and its effect upon the family.

Verges, M. (1991). *On silver wings: The women air force service pilots of World War II 1942-1944.* **New York: Ballantine Books.**

This book is a highly readable history of a little-known, yet pioneering group of women: the women airforce service pilots (WASP) of World War II. Especially interesting are the family stories of these women provided by the author, which give insight into women's past and present fascination with aviation and the military's utilization and non-utilization of women in these kinds of roles.

Bowen, G. L., Orthner, D. K., Zimmerman, L. I., & Meehan, T. (1992). *Family patterns and adaptations in the U.S. Army* (ARI Tech. Rep. 966). Alexandria, VA: U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences.

This report documents findings from a major research project involving the study of 11,035 soldiers in 1989. The emphasis is upon different family forms in the military (civilian wife and serviceman, civilian husband and servicewoman, dual military couples, and single military parents) and their relationship to a number of variables including work stress, family stress, coping and adjustment, and Army-family "fit." A variety of conclusions by the authors speak to the importance of demographic variables in such analyses. An additional important finding were both the higher stress levels and lower levels of coping among single parent male soldiers as contrasted with single parent female soldiers.

Devilbiss, M. C. (1990). *Women and military service: A history, analysis, and overview of key issues.* Montgomery, AL: Air University Press.

This work presents an overview history and policy analysis of women in the U.S. Armed Forces. Chapters 2 and 3 of this book, which focus upon "Major Instruments and Patterns of Change" and an "Overview of Key Issues," are particularly helpful in answering the following questions related to the changing role of women in the military and family concerns: a) what has been the history of policy development on these key questions?, b) why and how have policy changes occurred in these arenas over the years?, and c) what issues and concerns remain for these topics on the policy agenda of the future?

Holm, J. (1992). *Women in the military: An unfinished revolution.* (Rev. ed.). Novato, CA: Presidio Press.

This book remains perhaps the best single volume overview available on the history of women in the U.S. military. Major General Holm's first (1982) and second (1992) editions of this text include a discussion and analysis of family policy issues impacting women in the Armed Forces.

Segal, M. W. & Harris, J. J. (1993). *What we know about military families* **(Special Report 21). Alexandria, VA: U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences.**

Perhaps the most inclusive source of its kind, this report summarizes data collected in over 70 scientific manuscripts, primarily from the Army Family Research Program in the eighties. Segal and Harris provide an overview of this literature focusing particularly on questions relating to Army family demographics, family effects on soldier retention and readiness, Army family adaptations to military life, and community support programs and provisions for soldier families. Well-written and extensively documented, this report can be read and utilized by both scientific and non-technical audiences.

Annotated Bibliography for Category #3

Bowen, G. L., Orthner, D. K., & Zimmerman, L. I. (1993). *Family adjustment of single parents in the U.S. Army: An empirical analysis of work stressors and adaptive resources* **(Tech. Rep. 982). Alexandria, VA: U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences.**

This is a study of single parents in the U.S. Army and their special concerns. The authors emphasize the need for policies and programs that provide supportive resources to single parent families (especially to single parent males) in the military, because of the stressors that such family demands place upon the soldier.

Schumm, W. R., Bell, D. B., Rice, R. E., & Perez, M. V. (1996). Trends in single parenting in the U.S. Army. *Psychological Reports, 78,* **1311-1328.**

This is a demographic and historical overview of the increases in single parent families in the U.S. Army from the eighties to the mid-nineties. It discusses the effects of this increase upon factors especially important to the military: family adaptation to Army life, soldier retention and readiness, and the use of support services by Army families.

Schumm, W. R., Bell, D. B., Rice, R. E., & Saners, D. (1996). Trends in dual military couples in the U.S. Army. *Psychological Reports, 78,* 1287-1298.

This is a demographic and historical overview of the rising percentages of dual career military couples in the twenty-year period from the mid-seventies to the mid-nineties. The report looks at the effects of dual career couples on key military variables (family adaptation to Army life, soldier retention and readiness, and family use of support services). It also examines the impact of another key military concern—force size—and looks at the potential effects of downsizing on dual career Army couples.

Stander, V. A., McClure, P., Gilroy, T., Chomko, J., & Long, J. (1998). *Military Marriages in the 1990s.* (MFI Technical Report 98-2). Scranton, PA: Military Family Institute, Marywood University.

This is a study of three types of dual working military couples: (1) both spouses active duty military, (2) active duty husband with civilian working wife, and (3) active duty wife with civilian husband. It examines in depth the process by which these couples decide to be dual-working, how they negotiate and juggle the responsibilities of marriage, working and parenting, and how they feel the military could most effectively support them. The study also includes a secondary analysis of a DoD survey, which focuses upon variations among the different types of couples regarding the aspects of military life with which they report the most, as well as the least satisfaction.

Teplitzey, M. L., Thomas, S. A., & Nogami, G. Y. (1988, July). *Dual Army career officers: Job attitudes and career intentions of male and female officers* (Tech. Rep. 805). Alexandria, VA: U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences.

This is one of the earlier pieces of research to focus upon the issue of dual career military couples and their families. Important here is the authors' examination of the feedback loop from family concerns (including issues surrounding family separations due to assignment and deployment, pregnancy, and childcare) to the individual partners' decisions (in the dual career military couple) to stay in or to leave the service.

Thomas, P. J. & Thomas, M. D. (1992). *Impact of pregnant women and single parents upon Navy personnel systems* **(NPRDC-TN-92-8). San Diego, CA: Navy Personnel Research and Development Center**

Representative of a larger body of research conducted on this topic by Patricia Thomas, this report is a review of U.S. Navy policies pertaining to pregnant women and single parents and the impact of these two groups on three issues of importance to the Navy: recruitment, assignment, and separation (discharge from military service). The authors also examine military policies relating to housing, family service centers, and child development centers.

Annotated Bibliography for Category #4

Cooper, H. M., Munich, A. A., & Squier, S. M. (Eds.). (1989). *Arms and the woman: War, gender, and literary representation.* **Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press.**

This book is a varied collection of literary contributions exploring the theme of war, sexuality, and gender. Women's roles in war are prominently featured.

De Pauw, L. (1998). *Battle cries and lullabies: Women in war from prehistory to the present.* **Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.**

The only book of its type, De Pauw's intriguing title documents the global history of warfare from the perspective of women's participation. Important historical and cross-cultural references to women's family experiences during wartime make this book a must read for anyone interested in the intersection of "military" and "family" concerns. Particularly useful are De Pauw's introductory and closing chapters that contain insights on "gender" and "sexuality" as explanatory variables related to the subject of women and war.

Elshtain, J. B. (1987). *Women and war.* **New York: Basic Books, Inc.**

An important early work on the question of "armed civic virtue" and the "gender gap," this book elaborates Elshtain's model of the myth of the "Just Warrior" and the "Beautiful Soul." This is an interesting book with many insights into the separate spheres paradigm of war.

Herbert, M. S. (1998). *Camouflage isn't only for combat: Gender, sexuality, and women in the military.* **New York: New York University Press.**

Herbert's work offers an important new lens on social construction of gender and sexuality, as each of these impacts upon the changing role of women in the military and its implications for military family policy.

Stiehm, J. H. (Ed.). (1996). *It's our military, too! Women and the U.S. military.* **Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.**

This is an edited collection on a variety of themes pertaining to gendered experiences in the U.S. military, both historical and modern. The paradigms of gender and war are developed and explored. The author presents this work as a catalyst for discussion on these issues.

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Chapter 8

MENTAL HEALTH IN MILITARY CHILDREN: MILITARY RISK FACTORS, MENTAL HEALTH, AND OUTCOMES

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Introduction

While the Army has paid systematic attention to the problems of *military families* in the last two decades, less focus has been directed to the *child* component of the family equation. In this section, the author reviews the available research evidence concerning the frequency and severity of psychosocial difficulties in military children. Specific risk factors, including the father absence, geographic mobility, and war and combat stress are discussed. In addition, variables that may mediate the effects of risk factors are described, preventive principles and approaches are outlined, and areas needing further investigation are identified.

The Military Family Syndrome

The term, "military family syndrome," has been used to characterize military children as out of control with stern, aggression-prone fathers, and submissive, depressed mothers (e.g., LaGrone, 1978). Unfortunately, the information for creating this term was based on evidence from poorly drawn samples rather than rigorous and carefully executed research (Jensen, Xenakis, Wolf, & Bain, 1991). In contrast to the notion advocated by LaGrone, reports based on more systematic research (Kenny, 1967; Morrison, 1981) have indicated that levels of conduct, behavioral, and emotional disorders may actually be lower among military children than among children in the civilian community. In addition, the most recent studies based on epidemiologic methods have likewise confirmed that the levels of psychopathology in the military child are at or below levels reported in epidemiologic studies of the general civilian population (Jensen, Xenakis, et al., 1991; 1995; Jensen, 1992). All in all, there is no evidence to support the notion of a "military family syndrome" or to indicate significantly increased levels of psychopathology in military families (Fernandez-Pol, 1988; Morrison). This does not rule out the possibility that military children are systematically exposed to a range of risk factors and related stressors, however. These possibilities are reviewed in this chapter.

The Balance of Risk and Protective Factors in Military Children

Children in military families experience the same general developmental processes as other children. However, they also experience a unique environment, including father absence, relocations, and the threat of increased personal risk to the soldier/sponsor. For a child to progress normally in their psychological development, it is generally assumed that a stable environment with consistent nurturing is required. Yet military life with its unusual demands can challenge the adaptation and coping of these children. Despite such pressures, most rigorously conducted studies have indicated that military children function better than their civilian counterparts (Kenny, 1967); that they have higher median intelligence quotients and better school achievement records (Jensen, Lewis, & Xenakis, 1986), and a lower incidence of juvenile delinquency (Jensen, Xenakis, et al., 1991; 1995; Kenny).

When attempting to understand the prevalence of developmental, psychosocial, or psychiatric difficulties in military children—just as is true for civilian children—an important consideration involves family socioeconomic status, just as is true for civilian children. Thus, a range of studies have suggested that officers' children are better adjusted (albeit only by a slight margin), and less likely to come from troubled homes than those from lower ranking soldiers' homes (Kenny, 1967; Rosen, Moghadam, & Vaitkus, 1989; Rosen & Moghadam, 1989). Such findings are likely because officers and higher ranking enlisted personnel report more life and career satisfaction, while enlisted and lower ranking soldiers' families are likely to experience more stressors than officer's families, due the combined effects of income differences, officers' greater control over geographic assignment, and widely differing work situations (Jensen, Xenakis, et al., 1991).

While the impact of overseas life, repeated parental absence, or geographic mobility may expose a military child to repeated developmental pressures, the most rigorous studies suggest that military children who have been exposed to repeated moves, overseas life, or father absence may actually score slightly better on a number of measures of adaptation and personality functioning (e.g., Jensen, Grogan, Xenakis & Bain, 1989; O'Connell, 1981).

Other less evident factors tend to attenuate the stresses of military family members. The military remains a relatively secure employer, and as a result its employees display a high level of commitment to the service. Available medical care ensures that families are protected from financial losses associated with severe injuries, chronic conditions, and expensive medical procedures and treatments. Moreover, the availability of social support systems and like-minded persons with similar values, life experiences, and socioeconomic status likely provide additional psychological supports and buffers for stressful periods of military family life (Jensen, Xenakis, et al., 1991; Jensen, et al., 1995). In addition, most military families cope reasonably well and are satisfied with military life, although satisfaction varies as a function of rank, income, and housing, as well as other military life-style factors (Creel, 1981; Doering & Huetzler, 1982; Lund, 1978; Stumpf, 1978; Watanabe, Jensen, Newby, & Cortes, 1995; Watanabe, Jensen, Rosen, Newby, Richters, & Cortes, 1995; Woelfel & Savell, 1978).

Parental Absence

Although findings from military literature about the effects of father absence and reunion on military families are quite variable, overall results indicate that relatively brief absences (i.e., less than 1-2 years) are associated with temporary behavioral and emotional symptoms in family members, particularly wives and sons (Bach, 1946; Lynn & Sawrey, 1959; Tiller, 1958).

Absence of greater length, frequency, or under combat or wartime conditions may exert more persistent effects. Extensive absences during a child's early years may exert cognitive effects, with a shift in relative verbal-math abilities, such that verbal skills are increased, while math scores are decreased. Absence effects are apparently mediated by preexisting father-family relationships, the age, sex and order of siblings, the meaning of the absence to the family, extent of danger to which father is exposed and how the mother copes with the father's absence (Hillenbrand, 1976; Jensen, Bloedau, Degroot, Ussery, & Davis, 1990; Oshman, 1975). Some studies have shown fewer problems for girls, but the possible delayed longitudinal effects on girls are not known (Jensen, Martin, & Watanabe, 1996).

Most recently, investigators have documented the impact of parent functioning as important determinants of child outcomes during and after parental absence (Jensen, Grogan, et. al, 1989; McCurry, Jensen, & Watanabe, 1998; Medway, David, Cafferty, & Chappell, 1995). However, the reasons and circumstances surrounding a given separation may be more relevant to the question of untoward effects on the child than the simple separation itself. Thus, in the case of separations in the midst of great sense of danger, fears for the family safety and lack of adequate preparation of the child, the effects may be quite different from instances where separations occurred under ideal or routine circumstances. In one report, however, increase in length of fathers' absence was associated with better child adaptations suggesting that as fathers were away longer, children (and possibly wives) were able to develop partially compensatory adaptive strategies to cope with the father's separation and absence (Hillenbrand, 1976).

Relocation and Geographic Mobility

Within the military establishment, family members expect relocations to another military base or to an overseas area. Although relocation continues to be a part of the military life, in recent years efforts have been directed to decrease the frequency of moves. The responses of the children to these relocations are highly dependent on their ages and development. The most vulnerable group seems to be early school-age children, due in part to the separation conflicts and the breaking up of peer group activities.

Studies have not supported the hypothesis of lasting negative effects of relocations on military children. In fact, children generally tended to report a positive experience, indicating that mobility was an adaptive evidence (Jensen, 1992; O'Connell, 1981). It has been suggested that relocations do not cause psychopathology; rather, the difficulties of families with preexisting psychosocial dysfunction may be exacerbated by a stressful move. When mothers accepted the relocation and when both parents

displayed a strong identification with the military community, the children experienced little or no difficulty (Pedersen & Sullivan, 1964).

Studies of children in military families have consistently failed to find any predictable relationship between emotional and behavioral problems and the frequency of family moves (Shaw, 1979). Nevertheless, for some children the frequency of mobility and the constant interruptions of friendships may result in an impaired capacity for intimacy.

Overall results from these studies suggest that geographic mobility may present problems for both military children and parents, but these difficulties are probably time-limited (Jensen, 1997). The challenges of relocations may actually represent growth opportunities and increase coping capacities for most military families. However, for some children, the negative attitudes and expectancies about moving may result in psychosocial dysfunction and negative self-perceptions, but this appears to be the exception to a more general rule of positive adaptation and outcomes.

Combat and War Stress

Fortunately, the American children of military parents usually have not experienced war directly by being in the immediate war zone. Earlier reports on the effects of war on children suggest intensification of emotional problems (MacDonald, 1943), increased delinquency (Gardner & Spencer, 1944), and a significant increase in anxiety symptoms (Milgram & Milgram, 1975). In a more recent study (Jensen et al., 1996) of the reaction of children during the Persian Gulf War, the combat deployment was evaluated in terms of (1) its direct effects on the child (child psychopathology), and (2) the influence of family responses to the child. The results indicate that deployment is related to modest increases in children's symptomatology, generally more in internalizing symptoms known principally to the child (e.g., children's self-reports of depression). However, the symptoms were mild and most children did not reach a clinical threshold for severity.

Research has noted somewhat greater effects of deployment on boys than girls. One possible explanation for boys' greater vulnerability could be that the great majority of deployed parents were fathers. As others have suggested (Blount, Curry, & Lubin, 1992), boys in particular may be vulnerable to the loss of a male figure in the home. Similarly, research in other areas (e.g., studies of the effects of divorce on children) has suggested that younger boys in particular (compared with older or female children) may be most susceptible to the effects of divorce (and loss of the father's presence).

In addition to gender, younger children seemed more vulnerable to the deployment. Related studies of children during wartime have yielded similar information that may clarify reasons younger children may be more vulnerable than older children. Weisenberg, Schwarzwald, Waysman, Solomon, and Klingman (1993) reported that younger children more commonly utilized *problem-focused coping* (e.g., taking some action to address the problem), compared with older children, who relied on *emotion-focused coping* (e.g., trying not to think about it, distracting oneself with other thoughts). Furthermore, children who used problem-focused coping experienced more anxiety-related difficulties than did children who used emotion-focused coping. It is

possible that this factor could have explained the differences in younger versus older children's functioning in response to deployment.

In summary, combat deployment may provoke a wide variety of symptoms in the family members, especially children and their parents. To a lesser extent, deployment for peacekeeping missions have the same effects on the family members. Although our findings indicate that parental combat deployment is related to elevated depressive symptoms in children, the deployment *per se* rarely provokes pathological levels of symptoms in otherwise healthy children. However, boys and younger children appear to be especially vulnerable, and increased monitoring of these children is warranted. In general, the factors shaping the differential outcomes among children of deployed personnel do not differ from the variables—family stressors, parental psychopathology, and the presence or absence of community and family supports—affecting outcomes of children of nondeployed parents (Jensen et al., 1990). Because children's distress may not always be apparent, health professionals and parents must remain vigilant during wartime deployments. Adequate treatment of the child is likely to require support and treatment of the effects of the deployment on other family members.

Special Needs Children within the Military

The chronically ill or handicapped child in the military family is no different in terms of needs and the care that he or she must be given as compared to a child with a similar disorder in the nonmilitary setting. The Exceptional Family Member Program (EFMP), assists families with children who require intensive and specialized medical care to be located to areas in the continental United States where military or civilian facilities are readily available. In addition, the educational and other community supports that are necessary in the total care of the child are taken into consideration in the assignment process. Along with the medical services, mental health services for the child as well as for the family are provided.

However, the common concerns of parents of children with disabilities are usually not the medical supports. Most often, parents are concerned that the child receives the educational supports and assistance needed to attain their potential. The education of these special needs children is addressed in a number of federal special education statutes known collectively as *The Education of the Handicapped Act* or EHA. Public law 94-142, the Education for all Handicapped Children Act of 1975, requires that all school-age children with disabilities be provided a full educational opportunity. The Education of the Handicapped Act, P. L. 94-142, was amended by public law 101-476 on October 30, 1990. The name of the Education of the Handicapped Act was changed to the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) and two groups of children often requiring special education services were added to the definition of "children with disabilities," specifically, children with autism and children with traumatic brain injury. The coordinated set of activities outlined in IDEA must be based upon the individual student's needs, taking into account the student's preferences and interests, and include instruction, community experiences, and when appropriate, acquisition of daily living skills and functional vocational evaluation.

As is the case with any child, the family's concerns, attitudes, and responses significantly impact on the military child. In the case of a disabled child, the situation is greatly aggravated. The well-being and especially the progress of children in

attaining their potential are closely interwoven with parental supports and resources. In a study (Watanabe, Jensen, Rosen et al., 1995) of psychological functioning of military parents with a handicapped child, the soldier-parents with a handicapped child showed significantly higher depressive symptoms including lower scores on coping, fewer favorable perceptions of their military skills and abilities, and more pessimistic attitudes about their long-term military career options. However, they reported high levels of satisfaction with the military educational and medical support programs. Very possibly, the availability of military medical and family support services (e.g., the EFMP) may alleviate family stresses that could otherwise accumulate in the face of caring for a chronically ill child.

Preventive Approaches

Specific preventive and supportive measures have been advocated to deal with some of the repeating stresses faced by military children and families, such as father absence and reunion. Support groups for wives and children during the father's absence have been advocated (Bermudes, 1973; Frank, Shanfield, & Evans, 1981). Family therapy during and after father's absence has been recommended, as well as "keeping the father's place open during his absence" (i.e., letters, tapes, pictures, involvement in decisions, etc.). In one instance, families with overseas fathers were moved to Army communities designed specifically for them (Allen, 1972). Chandler (1981) has recommended a programmed preparation of fathers and families for the fathers' separation and eventual reunion through the use of lectures, videotapes, and groups. In one instance, the Navy allowed children to accompany their fathers aboard ship for a portion of the return trip home (Chandler). In the absence of the father, older male companionship (e.g., uncles and grandfathers) may be especially useful for young boys. Substitute fathers during the absence have also been advocated.

Groups might also be used to educate children with maps, calendars, and unit visits so that they have a better understanding of the circumstances surrounding the deployment (Blount et al., 1992). Whenever possible, before the deployment service members should discuss it with their children and attempt to reassure them. During the deployment the service member should continue close communication. Before the reunion, family and service member support groups can reinforce the fact that everyone has probably changed during the deployment. Finally, when the military member returns, the family must allocate time to get reacquainted.

There are a number of programs designed to prevent or ameliorate the effects of military life stressors on families, not especially limited to times of crisis. These include providing sponsors to the new service member and family when they move to a new assignment; development of service-wide community services, nurseries and day care centers; establishment of child and spouse protective services; free availability of social work and mental health services; no cost legal assistance and financial planning services; the wide use of Parent Effectiveness Training (PET); and retirement counseling. No doubt, these supportive measures play an invaluable part in mitigating the stresses of the military family.

Future Research Needs

While substantial progress has been made in our understanding of the problems of military children and families, several important gaps remain.

First, concerning the *military family syndrome*, there appears to be no meaningful research support for this notion. Further efforts proving or disproving the existence of the syndrome do not appear to be particularly useful, in terms of affecting military family policy or making useful changes in the lives of military children. Of greater benefit would be to determine how screening programs in the military might work more effectively, so that when a child or family is in need, they are identified (hopefully without stigma, fears of recrimination, or adverse disciplinary action). Once identified, how can we be sure that services can get to those most in need? The military system offers enormous opportunities to study and understand how health care and health promotion systems can be best organized and delivered, so that they really reach the persons who are in greatest need.

Concerning risk and protective factors, while some stressors are unique for military children, they and their families share and have in common the same sets of risk factors that affect other westernized children. If anything, military children probably experience fewer of them; a point that has been made elsewhere (Jensen et al., 1986). However, given the structure of military communities, the opportunity to follow children and their families over time, a better understanding of how risk factors impinge on children, and how the accumulation, timing, and sequencing of risk factors is related to their overall impact might be more possible in military than in nonmilitary settings. This area remains an unexploited research opportunity for civilian and military researchers alike.

While the effects of parental absence and wartime deployment are real, they do appear to be modest for *most* children. Yet we still do not know how to identify those few children and families who are at greatest risk for increased behavioral and functional problems as a result of these unique military stressors. Moreover, we do not know what kinds of interventions will really help such families, once problems have begun to emerge during the course of deployment or parental absence. Moreover, are there preventive interventions that might be put into place that could be of benefit? Of what should these interventions consist?

Unfortunately, in contrast to other areas where a good deal of knowledge has accumulated, geographic mobility has been (and remains) terribly understudied in military children. A move is a normative stressor that repeatedly affects many military children. Since our entire society (military and civilian alike) has a great deal vested in understanding children's successful coping, why have investigators not rushed to take full advantage of this research opportunity? Once armed with such information, what kind of programs might be put into place that could not only benefit military children, but also civilian children who must make similar adjustments when their parents move?

One special needs population where there has been a modest amount of research, yet where much more is needed, concerns the coping and adaptation of children whose

parents have been prisoners of war. While such events appear to be relatively rare, thus making research difficult to do, and knowledge concerning the phenomena even more difficult to assemble, it is of high importance. It might be wise to more strategically approach such areas, for example, by designating a pre-assembled "military research swat team." In other words, could not some of the standing military research resources be given the targeted mission to respond to high profile, high need crisis situations, such that careful evaluation and assessment protocols, as well as extensive briefing and debriefings of all persons involved be a standard procedure? It seems that only such targeted efforts will allow knowledge in corresponding areas to systematically accumulate.

All in all, although a good deal is known concerning the health and well-being of military children, much remains to be done. As noted above, there are some special areas where military children's health needs are unique, other areas where the military setting offers unique opportunities to answer both military- and civilian-child-related research questions, and many more areas that differ not at all from the research needs of civilian children. In all three areas, more research is needed, but I would suggest that the first two areas deserve much higher priority. This volume constitutes an important, much needed resource to condense our current science-based understanding, with the goal of assisting future investigators to build on what has already been determined, rather than to simply rediscover what has been learned through previous studies.

MENTAL HEALTH IN MILITARY CHILDREN: MILITARY RISK FACTORS, MENTAL HEALTH, AND OUTCOMES

Annotated Bibliography

Applewhite, L. W. & Mays, R. A. (1996). Parent-child separation: A comparison of maternally and paternally separated children in military families. *Child and Adolescent Social Work Journal, 13,* 23-39.

Even though many studies have addressed the question of the impact of father absence on military children and families, none have been heretofore conducted to examine the relative impact of paternal versus maternal separation on children.

Objective: To address this gap, these authors studied 288 children ages 4-8 years, in order to compare functioning of those children whose mothers had been away for extended periods, versus those who had been separated from their fathers.

Results: The questionnaire (completed by parents) assessed children's psychosocial functioning and the level of family stresses. Of note, there were no significant differences in children's functioning, regardless of whether they had or had not experienced a maternal or paternal separation.

Conclusions: These findings do not suggest that parents are not important; rather they likely reflect the generally high levels of support that children experience within military families, and the relatively minor impact that routine separations have upon children when they receive good caretaking by the remaining parent in the interim.

Black, W. G., Jr. (1993). Military induced family separation: A stress reduction intervention. *Social Work, 38,* 273-280.

Objective: In order to provide guidelines to help social workers design interventions for military families experiencing service member (primarily father) absence, the author presents a model of family stress which incorporates consideration of the nature of the stressor, family resources, family's perception of the stressor, and experienced stress levels.

Results: Support groups led by spouses can help military families develop coping skills by emphasizing personal growth and education. Such groups may be done prior to, during, and after any deployment. Telephone chains can stop harmful rumors. Families who have not dealt with prior separations should be targeted. In order to help the children, family members should discuss their feelings about the separation before it occurs. The remaining spouse should not drastically change family routines once the deployment has begun. The service member should contact (by mail or telephone) each child separately as often as possible during the deployment. When the service member returns, separate reentry support groups could be used so that both spouses can be prepared to be more receptive to each other's changes when they are reunited.

Conclusions: If soldiers and spouses are assisted to deal proactively with their reactions to the separation, children generally will have an easier time adjusting. Multiple approaches can and should be considered and adapted to the needs of specific families and local military installations.

Fernandez-Pol, B. (1988). Does the military family syndrome exist? *Military Medicine, 153,* 418-420.

Objective: To test the notion of the existence of a "military family syndrome" adversely affecting military children, the authors surveyed 423 military wives to determine whether they had higher levels of psychological distress than the general population.

Results: Based on mothers' responses on the Langner's 23-item Screening Scale of Psychopathology (used in the Midtown Manhattan Study), results indicated that symptom levels in mothers of military children did not differ from comparable civilian communities.

Jensen, P. S., Grogan, D. G., Xenakis, S. N., & Bain, M. W. (1989). Father absence: Effects on child and maternal psychopathology. *Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, 28,* **171-175.**

Objective: To examine the effects of fathers' absence during the previous year on military children.

Method: Using multiple measures of children's functioning and psychiatric symptoms, the authors surveyed 213 children whose fathers had been absent one or more months during the previous 12 months.

Results: Findings indicated that children whose fathers had been absent during the previous year experienced significantly higher self-reported depression and anxiety, but these symptoms were not apparent to adult observers (parents and teachers). These effects were not demonstrated when maternal psychiatric symptoms and intercurrent family stressors were controlled.

Conclusions: The effects of father absence under routine conditions in relatively healthy samples may exert no significant effects independent of intervening family stressors or maternal psychopathology. Clinic referrals of children during times of father absence may partly be due to an effect of additional stressors impacting on the mother during the absence of the father.

Jensen, P. S., Martin, D., & Watanabe, H. K. (1996). Children's response to parental separation during Operation Desert Storm. *Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, 35,* **433-441.**

Objective: Commonly held attitudes concerning the effects of parental wartime deployment upon children have usually been guided by stereotype rather than scientific data. To determine the effects of Operation Desert Storm upon military children and their parents, the authors compared children and families with and without a deployed soldier parent prior to and during Operation Desert Storm.

Methods: Three hundred eighty-three children and the remaining caretaking parent completed self- and parent-report instruments concerning child and family functioning, and life stressors. Children of deployed and nondeployed personnel were compared cross-sectionally, as well longitudinally, using data collected prior to any knowledge of Operation Desert Storm.

Results: Children of deployed personnel experienced elevated self-reported symptom levels of depression, as did their parents. Likewise, families of deployed personnel reported significantly more intervening stressors, compared to children and families of nondeployed personnel. However, deployment *per se* rarely provokes pathological levels of symptoms in otherwise healthy children.

Conclusions: Generally, the factors shaping differential outcomes among children of deployed personnel do not differ from the variables affecting outcomes of children of nondeployed parents. However, boys and younger children appear to be especially vulnerable to deployment effects, and increased monitoring of these children is warranted. Adequate treatment of children requires treatment of the effects of the deployment upon other family members. For children showing more persistent or pervasive psychopathology, factors other than simple deployment should be considered.

Jensen, P. S., Richters, J., Ussery, T., & Bloedau, L. (1991). Child psychopathology and environmental influences: Discrete life events versus ongoing adversity. *Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, 30,* 303-309.

Objective: To determine the impact of acute and chronic life stressors on the functioning of military children and families, and to disentangle the impact of events that were *normative* (i.e., could happen to anyone, and not presumably due to one's own behavior) and those that were *confounded* (i.e., stressors that may have been due in part to the parent's or child's own functioning difficulties).

Method: Patterns of exposure to distinct types of life stressors were compared between 134 children attending a military child psychiatric clinic and a matched military community control sample.

Results: Compared to the community sample, clinic-referred children had experienced significantly higher levels of normative stressful events, as well as events confounded with their own adjustment and events related to parental psychosocial functioning. Differences in levels of normative stressful events were no longer significant, however, when controlling for events related to parental functioning. Ratings of stressful events during the past year significantly underestimated the lifetime stress exposure differences between clinic and community control children.

Conclusions: Although normative stressful events, parent-related events, and parent symptomatology ratings were significantly related to child behavior problem ratings, normative stressful events did not contribute to predictions of child behavior problems beyond the variance attributable to parent-related events and parent symptomatology. The functioning of military children, like that of civilian children, appears most closely tied to parent and family functioning, and the most salient stressors that impact on children and parents alike, are also closely tied to parent and family functioning, and the nature of the nurturing/caretaking environment.

Jensen, P. S. & Shaw, J. (1993). Children as victims of war: Current knowledge and future research needs. *Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, 32,* 697-708.

Recent international events have drawn attention to the effects of war-related events and processes upon children and their families. This review of the literature concerning the existence, frequency and type of social-emotional and behavioral problems in children exposed to war indicates significant methodologic problems in previous research. Available evidence suggests that massive exposure to wartime trauma seems likely to overwhelm most children's defenses; however, children's cognitive immaturity, plasticity, and innate adaptive capacities may mitigate war's effects in low to moderate intensity wartime settings, resulting in self-protective, adaptive, cognitive styles that allow effective functioning after acclimatization. Promising recent research has shifted from the focus on psychopathology to social awareness, values, and attitudes. More research will be needed to determine how age, developmental, family and community factors may mediate the strength and nature of war-time effects, and to determine which interventions are most effective in a variety of settings and cultural contexts.

Jensen, P. S., Watanabe, H. K., Richters, J. E., Cortes, R., Roper, M., & Liu, S. (1995). Prevalence of mental disorder in military children and adolescents: Findings from a two-stage community survey. *Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, 34,* 1514-1524.

Objective: Because previous reports have suggested that military children are at greater risk for psychopathology, this study examines the levels of psychopathology in an epidemiologic community sample of military children living on a military post.

Methods: Standardized psychopathology rating scales and a structured diagnostic interview (Diagnostic Interview Schedule for Children - DISC version 2. 1) were used in a multi-method, multi-stage survey; 294 six-to-seventeen-year-old military children and their parents participated in the study.

Results: Children's self-reports, as well as from parent- and child-administered structured DSM-III-R DISC interviews, indicated that children's levels of psychopathology were at levels consistent with national norms. In addition, parents' and children's symptom checklist ratings of children were at national norms, as were parents' ratings of their own symptoms.

Conclusions: Overall results do not support the notion that levels of psychopathology are greatly increased in military children. Further studies of military families should address the effects of rank and socioeconomic status, housing, and the current impact of life stressors on the parents as well as the children, in order to avoid drawing erroneous conclusions about parts or all of the military community.

Jensen, P. S., Xenakis, S. N., Wolf, P., & Bain, M. (1991). The 'military family syndrome' revisited: By the numbers. *Journal of Nervous, and Mental Disease, 179*(2), 102-107.

Objective: To provide objective evidence about the actual levels of psychopathology in a community-based sample of military children.

Methods: The authors used standardized psychopathology rating scales to survey 213 six-to-twelve-year-old military children and their parents.

Results: Findings from children's symptom self-reports, as well as from teachers' ratings of children, indicated that children's symptoms levels were at levels consistent with national norms. In contrast, parents' (especially mothers') ratings of children were significantly higher than national norms, as were parents' ratings of their own symptoms. Also, parents' own symptom reports showed somewhat stronger relationships with life stressors presumably affecting their ratings of the child more than the child's and teacher's reports. Results suggest that parents' reports of children's symptoms may be mediated by the effects of military life stressors upon the parents, but these stressors do not necessarily result in higher symptoms in the children.

Conclusions: Overall results do not support the notion that levels of psychopathology are greatly increased in military children. Further studies of military families should address the effects of rank and socioeconomic status, housing, and the current impact of life stressors on the parents as well as the children, in order to avoid drawing erroneous conclusions about parts or all of the military community.

Kelley, M. L. (1994a). The effects of military-induced separation on family factors and child behavior. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 64*, 103-111.

Objective: The authors examined 61 Navy families with children ranging from age 5 to 23, pre-, during-, and post-deployment, in order to understand the impact of various types of deployment. From these 61 families, 47 sailor-fathers were deployed during peacetime, while the remaining 14 fathers were deployed during Operation Desert Storm (ODS).

Results: Deployment was related to changes over time in children's symptom levels (with fewer reported symptoms after return of the father). Compared to peacetime deployment, wartime deployment was related to increased difficulties with maternal nurturing, family cohesion, and child behavior problems.

Conclusions: Even though war-time deployment was related to more problems than peace-time deployment, overall difficulties with function were modest with both groups, regardless of the type of deployment.

Kugler, J. P., Yeash, J., & Rumbaugh, P. C. (1993). The impact of sociodemographic, health care system, and family function variables on prenatal care utilization in a military setting. *Journal of Family Practice, 37,* **143-147.**

Objective: Despite the relative socio-economic uniformity of the military services and the availability of no-cost medical care and related social services, it is quite possible the socio-economic "gradients" still exist within the overall social structure and that socio-economic factors are related to the likelihood of children's and parents' receipt of medical services. In this study, the authors examined a range of family, educational, rank-related, and socioeconomic variables, in order to determine the likelihood that expectant mothers seek out and obtain perinatal care.

Results: In this study of 368 consecutive enrollees to a family practice obstetric clinic on a military post, the authors determined that low income, less than a high school education, and distance from the clinic/hospital decreased by 3 to 10-fold the mother's likelihood of obtaining medical care.

Conclusions: Given the well-known importance of perinatal care on reducing children's risk for subsequent behavior, emotional, and learning problems, military health care system planners must give greater thought to strategies that will effectively reduce the likelihood of not obtaining prenatal care.

Levai, M., Kaplan, S., Ackermann, R., & Hammock, M. (1995). The effect of father absence on the psychiatric hospitalization of Navy children. *Military Medicine, 160,* **104-106.**

Objective: The authors examined the relative frequency of Navy children's hospitalization to a child/adolescent psychiatric unit, as a function of whether the father was deployed at sea or not.

Results: Compared to the general finding that 20-25% of Navy fathers are deployed at sea at any given time, 60% of psychiatrically hospitalized children were admitted whose father had a deployable duty assignment, and among these families, most children were hospitalized while the father was deployed at sea. Moreover, substantial proportions (57%) of hospitalized children came from single parent, divorced, or blended families—much higher than the frequency of these family categories than found among overall Navy personnel.

Conclusions: These data suggest that deployment and parental absence may stress Navy families, with children (rather than adolescents) being somewhat more greatly affected. While these findings may indeed be correct, it is important to remember that the vast majority of children of deploying fathers do *not* end up in a psychiatric hospital. Consequently, any effective strategy to address these vulnerable families needs should not necessarily reach out to all Navy families, rather, it should find efficient means to identify and provide services to families at risk.

McCurry, L. J., Jensen, P. S., & Watanabe, H. K. (1998). *Children's responses and recovery following parental military deployment.* **Scientific Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the American Psychiatric Association, Toronto, Canada.**

Objective: During Operation Desert Storm (ODS) 32,000 children had one or both parents deploy to the Persian Gulf. Previous research has demonstrated an increase in self-reported depressive symptoms in these children and the parent caring for them during deployment. Few studies have been done on children after parental deployment. The authors sought to determine how these children and families fared after one or both parents returned from ODS.

Method: The cohort included families on a military base after ODS, regardless of previous deployment status. Several of these families were surveyed prior to and during ODS, as part of a longitudinal study. Questionnaires including the Child Behavior Checklist (CBCL), the Center for Epidemiologic Studies-Depression Scale (CES-D), and the Children's Depression Inventory (CDI) were completed by 182 families (77% response rate).

Results: There was a decrease in CDI scores in children whose parents had deployed. CBCLs filled out by the caretaking parent suggested normalization of behavior. Parental depression scores also decreased in families with a deployed member.

Conclusions: In contrast to common assumptions, children experienced few difficulties following parental return. Most children showed fewer symptoms than at baseline. The improvement in symptomatology after return from deployment suggests that preventive interventions should be targeted to children and families before and during active deployment.

Medway, F. J., David, K. E., Cafferty, T. P., & Chappell, K. D. (1995). Family disruption and adult attachment correlates of spouse and child reactions to separation and reunion due to Operation Desert Storm. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology, 14,* 97-118.

Objective: The authors conducted two studies of families of National Reserve and Guard soldiers, in order to determine the effects of wartime deployment on their spouses' ratings of themselves and their children. The first study was done just after the cessation of fighting, while the second was done 6 months after the end of Desert Storm.

Results: While neither study benefited from repeated assessments and relied principally on retrospective reports, both nonetheless indicated that separation was correlated with maternal distress and reports of increased child behavior problems. Furthermore, children's functioning was strongly related to parental functioning, regardless of the impact or point of deployment.

Conclusions: These results indicate that regardless of point in time vis-a-vis deployment, children's overall functioning is most closely tied to parental functioning, regardless of deployment. Thus, support for spouses who are having deployment-related difficulties is likely to have secondary benefits for their children.

Morrison, J. (1981). Rethinking the military family syndrome. *American Journal of Psychiatry, 138,* 354-357.

Objectives: This article constitutes an important rejoinder to previously published reports about a "military family syndrome." The author collected information on all children and families seen in his private practice over a six-year period, and compared various family background, risk factor, demographic, and diagnostic data on children from military families versus those from civilian families. Data from 374 subjects total were available for analysis (234 nonmilitary, 140 military).

Results: Comparing across groups concerning the frequency of various diagnoses, military children did not have greater rates of conduct disorder or other particular diagnoses. In fact, military children were less likely to warrant the diagnosis of schizophrenia, compared to civilian children. In addition, across over 100 background variables, the author compared the relative frequency of these factors in civilian and military children, finding only seven (consistent with chance, rather than a statistically meaningful finding) which differed significantly from frequencies found in the civilian population.

Conclusions: The author suggests that if there is indeed a "military family syndrome," its effects are likely to be subtle, and he cautions against future speculations not based on solid empirical evidence.

Nader, K. O., Pynoos, R. S., Fairbanks, L. A., Al-Ajeel, M., & Al-Asfour, A. (1993). A preliminary study of PTSD and grief among the children of Kuwait following the Gulf Crisis. *British Journal of Clinical Psychology, 32,* 407-416.

Objective: In order to ascertain the types of exposure to war related stress and the level of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) and grief reactions in Kuwaiti children, researchers administered the post-traumatic stress disorder reaction questionnaire and a grief index to fifty-four 11-17 year old children four months after the liberation of Kuwait.

Results: Most of the subjects experienced the capture, injury, or death of family and friends. Few of the children faced direct life threatening experiences, but many felt a general sense of threat. Moreover, the majority of the children witnessed war-related violence directly or on television. Children with greater levels of exposure experienced more severe PTSD reactions and had higher levels of grief. Further, most subjects had moderate to severe PTSD reactions, and the most common symptoms were flashbacks and withdrawal. Witnessing influenced both the PTSD and grief reactions. The highest scores were obtained from subjects who hurt others, and older children tended to have higher levels of exposure. There were no differences attributed to gender.

Conclusions: Kuwaiti children, like others directly exposed to war experiences, experienced PTSD and grief reactions as a function of degree of threat and war-related violence exposure. Even exposure through the television, in the context of war-related occupation, appeared to mediate adverse effects on children. Findings have implications for clinical professionals and policymakers who deal with children at risk for high levels of violence exposure, including children whose parents are deployed to war zones.

Rosen, L. N., Bain, M. W., & Moghadam, L. Z. (1992). Health problems among Army children. *Military Medicine, 157,* 85-88.

Objective: To obtain a better understanding of the type and frequencies of health problems in Army children, the authors assessed spouses of Army soldiers (1145 of 3000 spouses returned questionnaires) developed a measure, "the Child Health Inventory" to assess parents' views of health problems in each of their children. The 1145 respondents included 782 parents with one or more children. Among the 782 families, 72 had one or more members enrolled in the exceptional family member program (EFMP).

Results: On average, just over 10% of families had one or more children with health problems warranting enrollment in the EFMP. The most commonly reported EFM condition was hyperactivity. Of note, however, only 33 of 84 families with an ill or handicapped child were enrolled in the EFMP.

Conclusions: All in all, it appears likely that the health problems experienced by military children are similar to those faced by civilian children. Programs such as the EFMP, designed to identify and assist such children and family members, may be underutilized.

Rosen, L. N., Teitelbaum, J. M., & Westhuis, D. J. (1993). Children's reactions to the Desert Storm Deployment: Initial findings from a survey of Army families. *Military Medicine, 158,* 465-469.

Objective: There has long been disagreement about the impact of parental deployment on children. Are children with no evidence of previous difficulties affected to such a degree that they develop de novo psychopathology?   Or does deployment act as a stimulus or trigger to lead an already vulnerable child to seek out mental health care during deployment?   These authors surveyed 934 military spouses whose spouses were deployed during Operation Desert Storm (ODS), asking parents about a range of demographic, health services, and child and family functioning variables, both prior to as well as during ODS. Parental reports of children's pre- and during-ODS functioning were compared, and regressions were performed to determine variables that best predicted children's function.

Results: Of note, while a relatively high proportion of children were perceived to have symptoms of sadness during ODS (up to 60%), only a small proportion of children (5-15%) were judged by their parents to be in need of counseling. The best predictor of a child receiving counseling was a history of having previously received counseling.

Conclusions: Findings that while deployment may have an important impact, other factors, such as the child's history of emotional difficulties may be even more salient in determining children's functioning, even under conditions such as war-time deployment.

Rosenfeld, A. A. (1993). Children living through a Desert Storm. *Child Abuse and Neglect, 17,* **821-829.**

Objective: In order to determine the effects of Desert Storm on affluent children in New York City and Fairfield County, Connecticut, the author conducted face to face interviews with a *small* group of mostly eleven and twelve year olds.

Results: The children experienced fear, anxiety, and frustration when they contemplated the war. They felt threatened by the possibility of terrorist attacks and biological warfare in the United States. In addition, they worried that the war might drag on and eventually involve their families. The war influenced the children on a personal level. They felt connected to the allied troops when they heard reports of their day to day difficulties in the desert. No nightmares were reported until after the war, and only one girl experienced them. All of the children craved information whenever they became anxious, but the media could only allay their fears for a short time. The children were perturbed by the graphic images of the dead and wounded on television.

Conclusions: This study catalogues the range of effects that war may exert on children, even when far removed from the theater of operations. This article is relevant for persons considering the impact of war on children, and may have special relevance for children of military personnel.

Rosenthal, M. K. & Levy-Shiff, R. (1993). Threat of missile attacks in the Gulf War: Mothers' perceptions of young children's reactions. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 63,* **241-253.**

Objective: In order to determine responses in Israeli infants and toddlers during the Gulf War to the stress produced by SCUD missile attacks, researchers conducted face to face interviews with 99 mothers during the last two weeks of the conflict using a semistructured questionnaire. Maternal responses were categorized according to numeric scales by three coders.

Results: The authors found that many children became inured to the stresses they experienced. Nevertheless, 57.7% of those children exhibited adjustment disturbances such as trouble sleeping or temper tantrums, and these individuals were less likely to cope well. These problems occurred most often in families (60.4%) whose mothers expressed a need for help. Children who were more helpful had an easier time coping, and they usually lived in families who manifested less intense emotional reactions. Children in the target zone were much more likely to experience adjustment difficulties.

Conclusions: These data suggest that children cope with war stressors by helping their families. Older children displayed intense initial reactions, but coped better over time than the younger children. In general, family reactions mediated child responses.

Watanabe, H., Jensen, P. S., Newby, J., & Cortes, R. M. (1995). The exceptional family member program: Perceptions of active duty enrollees. *Military Medicine, 160,* 639-643.

Objective: To determine the attitudes and perceptions of soldiers who had one or more children enrolled in the Army's Exceptional Family Member Program (EFMP).

Method: Fifty-four soldiers who had a family member enrolled in the EFMP were surveyed as to their experiences and perceptions of the program.

Results: A high percentage of soldiers reported satisfaction with treatment of the EFMP family member. They generally perceived the EFMP positively and were very supportive of the program. The majority of these soldiers also reported that their units were supportive of them and that they encountered no significant obstacles to career advancement.

Conclusions: Despite concerns sometimes expressed about enrollment in the EFMP, soldiers generally perceived it as a positive experience for family members, with no apparent major adverse effects on the individual soldier's career.

Watanabe, H., Jensen, P. S., Rosen, L. N., Newby, J., Richters, J. E., & Cortes, R. M. (1995). Soldier functioning under chronic stress: Effects of family member illness. *Military Medicine, 160,* 457-461.

Objective: To examine the impact of having a handicapped child on the psychological functioning of soldiers enrolled in the Exceptional Family Member Program (EFMP).

Methods: Self-report questionnaires were utilized to measure depressive symptoms, marital adjustment, social supports, stressful life events, military satisfaction, military performance, and coping in a sample of 443 soldiers. Differences between the 147 soldier-parents with a handicapped child and those without were examined using one-way analyses of variance (ANOVA).

Results: The results indicated that soldier-parents with a handicapped child showed significantly higher depressive symptoms, including lower scores on coping, less favorable perception of their military skills and abilities, and more pessimistic attitudes about their long-term military career options than did the comparison group. Differences in marital satisfaction were not found. Also, perceived social supports played a significantly greater role in buffering the effects of stress on marital adjustment among families with a handicapped child than among those without.

Conclusions: Results indicate that soldiers with a handicapped child may require special support to maintain and enhance their personal, familial, and military effectiveness.

Weisenberg, M., Schwarzwald, J., Waysman, M., Solomon, Z., & Klingman, A. (1993). Coping of school-age children in the sealed room during SCUD missile bombardment and postwar stress reactions. *Journal of Counseling and Clinical Psychology 61*, 462-467.

Objective: In order to ascertain the relationship between coping behaviors in a sealed room during SCUD missile attacks and postwar reactions to stress, researchers administered questionnaires to 492 children from grades 5,7, and 10 approximately three weeks after the war ended. Children completed an Emotional Reactions and Coping Behaviors form, a Stress Reaction Questionnaire, and a Global Symptom Score (GSS).

Results: The authors found that 75.8% of the children felt tense in the rooms, but every other frequently named emotional response was positive. Children coped by Checking, Verbal Distraction, Reassurance Request, Distraction-Avoidance, and Wish Fulfillment. Post-traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) children reported higher levels of Checking and Reassurance Request incidents. Fifth graders used fewer verbal distractions and made more requests for assurance than seventh or tenth graders.

Conclusions: Findings suggest that older children are more likely to engage in positive forms of coping which are emotion-focused while younger children tend to utilize negative problem focused coping. Children who relied on coping activities directed at the threat had more severe PTSD reactions. In general, the children felt apprehensive, but maintained a positive outlook. Findings have implications for those designing intervention programs for children at risk for exposure to war-related events.

Zeff, K. N., Lewis, S. J., & Hirsch, K. A. (1997). Military family adaptation to United Nations operations in Somalia. *Military Medicine, 162*, 384-387.

Objective: To determine the impact of parental absence on children and parents, the authors conducted five repeated assessments of 16 adults and 12 children during the sponsor's overseas assignment to United Nations operations in Somalia.

Results: Findings showed very modest (if any) effects on children. In contrast, spouses remaining at home showed higher symptom levels than deployed members. Parent and child functioning measures generally did not reach levels of clinically significant distress or psychopathology. In contrast, adults' ratings of levels of spousal intimacy reached their lowest levels just before the end of the deployment.

Conclusions: Data suggest that while deployment is a meaningful, stressful event in the lives of most families, by and large it is a normative, and children and parents cope reasonably well with this stressor. Nonetheless, good understanding of the specific effects upon children and families will help planners and policymakers develop effective programs and outreach efforts for those most in need before, during and after the deployment.

Zivcic, I. (1993). Emotional reactions of children to war stress in Croatia. *Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, 32,* **709-713.**

Objective: To determine the emotional reactions of Croatian children to war and parents' understanding of children's reactions.

Method: During the war, two groups of 11-12 year old children, 160 refugees and 320 nondisplaced individuals, completed the Child Depression Inventory (CDI) and the Emotion (Mood) Scale which was developed by the author to measure joy, anger, fear, and sadness. Their parents (usually mothers) and teachers also completed versions of the Mood Scale. A third group of 158 children finished the CDI before the war.

Results: CDI scores did not differ between the two groups of children studied during the war, but the children examined prior to the war manifested significantly fewer depressive symptoms. On the Mood scale, displaced children reported less joy, more sadness and fear, and the same level of anger as nondisplaced children did. Reports from parents of nondisplaced children correlated with the children's reports for all four emotions. The reports of refugee parents and children correlated only for the measurement of sadness.

Conclusions: These data suggest that the presence of a close person buffered the refugee children. The war had a large negative effect on both groups, even if some of the children experienced only indirect exposure. Nevertheless, differences in the mood scale showed that refugees had experienced higher levels of stress. Teachers reported less psychopathology than parents, and they both reported less than the children themselves. The refugee parents probably had more difficulty understanding their children's problems since they faced so many difficulties themselves.

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Chapter 9

MILITARY ADOLESCENTS

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Introduction

Adolescence is the life stage during which an individual makes the transition from childhood to adulthood. As adolescents undergo this transition, they experience rapid physical changes, cognitive maturation, social role redefinitions, school transitions, and the emergence of sexuality. Adolescents must resolve questions of relationships with peers and family in order to create and consolidate elements of personal identity and psychosocial orientation (Newman & Newman, 1991). Attitudes toward self, values, and aspirations are integrated and influence academic achievement and future goals.

This section will review the literature and discuss findings from studies of adolescents living in military families. Since the majority of the findings reported on military children apply to adolescents as well as children, readers are referred to that section (Chapter 8) for more detail on topics such as separation, relocation, combat stress, and the Exceptional Family Member Program. This section will focus exclusively on the period of adolescence.

The unique challenges of early adolescence result from developmental changes at both the individual and the social/environmental levels. These changes heighten the potential for both positive and negative outcomes. Positive outcomes occur when the needs of the developing adolescent match the opportunities afforded them by their social environments (Eccles et al., 1993). Negative outcomes can often result when there is a significant "lack of fit" between the adolescent and his or her environment. Mid-to-late adolescent identity provides a framework within which the individual

assimilates future life experiences. According to Marcia (1994, p. 70), identity can be defined as "a coherent sense of one's meaning to oneself and to others within that social context." The tasks involved in achieving responsible adulthood have been defined as: (a) the search for self-definition and a personal set of values; (b) the acquisition of competencies and skills for social interaction with parents, peers, and others; (c) the achievement of emotional independence from parents; (d) the ability to negotiate between the pressure to achieve and the acceptance of peers; and (e) experimentation with a wide array of behaviors, attitudes, and activities (Dryfoos, 1990). Identity is achieved after exploring across a number of diverse areas (e.g., vocational/occupational choices, political/religious beliefs, sexuality, and sex-role attitudes). This process leads to commitment and a coherent, strong sense of self with concomitant self-regulation capacity (Marcia). This ability to self-regulate is important when one considers the factors that place adolescents at risk for negative outcomes.

Conventional wisdom suggests a difference between adolescents raised in a military family and those growing up in a civilian household. Compared to their civilian counterparts, adolescents in military families are apt to move more often; they are more likely to be separated from a parent due to deployments; and they are more likely to live in foreign lands (Pittman & Bowen, 1994). The question then arises, how do these experiences affect adolescent patterns of high-risk behavior?

About two decades ago, LaGrone (1978) presented a review of a military psychiatric clinic's case records of adolescents that he felt indicated the presence of a "Military Family Syndrome." LaGrone suggests that a higher incidence of behavioral disorders, compared to those found in a similar civilian clinic, represent a sort of "acting out" against the military. Identifying any such "syndrome" must be viewed with a great deal of caution for two reasons. First, research conducted exclusively with clinical populations is likely to give a very biased picture of the true state of affairs in a general population (e.g., Schachter, 1982). Second, since the identification of this syndrome, the research with adolescents (e.g., Jeffreys et al., 1997; Orthner, Giddings, & Quinn, 1987) has shown far more similarities than differences between military youth and their civilian counterparts. Thus, to conclude that there is some factor or set of factors inherent in military family life that causes military youth to display a unique syndrome is an oversimplification. Most of the evidence which has been presented to support the idea of more impaired functioning in military adolescents compared to their civilian counterparts has been either anecdotal or obtained from biased samples.

Research Findings Pertinent to Military Adolescents

The Youth in Transition Project [1] (Orthner et al., 1987) appears to be the first attempt to carry out a relatively large-scale assessment of military youth. This project compared Air Force and civilian youth from five locations in the southeastern and western United States. The study found no consistent differences between Air Force and civilian youth that would support the notion that military youth have more difficulties than their civilian peers during adolescence.

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[1] Interested readers may refer to the annotated bibliography section of this chapter for further details about this study.

To our knowledge, the Military Family Institute's (MFI) adolescent survey (Jeffreys et al., 1997) represents the first broad-based assessment of military adolescents across the Air Force, Army, Marine Corps and the Navy. The study included over 6,000 military adolescents of parents who were assigned to installations all over the world. The sites visited for data collection were randomly selected. For each service the research team visited at least one site outside the continental United States (OCONUS) in addition to a number of sites within the continental United States (CONUS). The data consisted of responses to self-administered questionnaires, comments written on the space provided on the questionnaires, as well as focus groups conducted at each site with a sub-sample of the youths who completed the survey.

Areas assessed in the questionnaire included health (including tobacco use), mental health, antisocial behaviors, alcohol and drug use, recreational and leisure activities, educational experiences, peer relations, family satisfaction, and experiences and perceptions of the military and military family life. Wherever possible, comparisons were made between these military adolescents (data from Jeffreys et al., 1997) and published civilian data. Comparison data came from multiple sources, including the normative data for some of the instruments used in the MFI study.

Several variables used for comparison were taken from the National Longitudinal Study (NLS) of Adolescent Health (Udry et al., 1997). Self-reports of overall physical health were very similar in the samples, with slightly more than 90% rating their health as better than *fair* across the two groups. Data from the NLS also provided the comparison for frequency of a number of anti-social behaviors. Military adolescents were slightly more likely than the NLS sample to report that they had damaged property on purpose. The NLS sample was slightly more likely to report that they had hurt someone badly enough that they needed medical attention and there was essentially no difference between the two samples in shoplifting and group fighting behaviors. Other comparisons with the NLS data revealed that military adolescents were more likely to report feeling safe in their schools than the NLS respondents and that perceptions of safety in their neighborhood did not differ across the groups. In terms of school performance, the MFI sample of military adolescent respondents on average reported being "B" students. Consistent with previous research (e.g., Orthner et al., 1987), their self-reported academic performance is quite good.

A number of items from the Monitoring the Future Project (Johnston, O'Malley, & Bachman, 1995) were used to compare military adolescent reports of cigarette smoking, alcohol and drug use with their civilian counterparts. A smaller proportion of military than civilian youth reported that they had ever smoked cigarettes or that they were currently regular smokers.[2] Use of alcohol, marijuana, and inhalants during the previous 30 days and over their lifetime was compared for the 8th, 10th, and 12th graders in the military adolescent sample with data collected by Johnston et al. For all three substances, across grade levels and time frames of use, the military adolescents reported lower frequency of use. In many cases, these differences were extremely large across the two samples (e.g., lifetime alcohol use, 12th grade, 50.5% of military vs. 80.4% of civilian youth). The 29.2% of the adolescents in the MFI sample who reported ever using drugs and alcohol is significantly less than corresponding

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[2] It is acknowledged that the Johnston et al. (1995) and Udry et al. (1997) data may include some military adolescents by virtue of being representative population-based samples; thus, they are not necessarily exclusively civilian samples.

statistics in the civilian population. This leads to at least two competing explanations. Military adolescents may in fact, be using substances at a far lower rate than their civilian peers or they may simply be underreporting their prevalence of use. Both lower frequency of use and underreporting can be explained by the fact that adolescents are generally aware that inappropriate behavior on their part can have serious negative impact on the military parent's career (Darnauer, 1976; Wawrousek, 1997). Clawson and James (1994) studied the risk-taking behaviors of a group of military adolescents in Seoul, South Korea. They found that tobacco use, drug use, and sexual intercourse were at about the national average for American teens and that alcohol use was somewhat higher. The sample in the Clawson and James study can hardly be considered representative, so questions remain about possible differences between military adolescents and their civilian peers. Further research is needed in order to determine patterns of use among military youth with greater certainty.

The majority of military adolescents reported that they did not use the youth centers/activities provided on installation. This lack of use should not be interpreted as disinterest. In written comments and during the focus group discussions, military youth made it very clear that they simply felt that the programs available on installation did not address their recreational activity needs. Many teens expressed the idea that increased availability of activities appropriate for older youth would help in combating problems such as drug/alcohol use, delinquency, and teen pregnancy (Leitzel, Charlton, & Jeffreys, 1998). About 10% did not participate in any of the formal, organized activities listed in the survey. Further exploration of these individuals' responses to other activity items revealed that most do engage in some sort of activity, whether it is going to youth centers on or off installation, working as a volunteer or for pay, or hanging out with friends. Thus, almost all of the respondents are involved in some sort of activity.

The respondents seemed to be generally satisfied with their peer relations. Almost 93% said that they belonged to a peer group and only about 2% reported that they did not belong to any group and that they had no close friends. While this is a very small proportion, these adolescents without peer connections of any sort would almost certainly be considered at-risk for negative outcomes.

The mental health of these military adolescents, as indicated by measures of self-esteem, depressed mood, and anxiety, is quite similar to their civilian peers. The sample of military adolescents reported slightly higher levels of self-esteem than O'Brien et al. (1996) found in a meta-analysis of gender differences in self-esteem (21 studies utilizing the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale [1965] with adolescents). Comparison with data collected by Carey, Lubin and Brewer (1992) reveals statistically significant, *but modest* differences in level of depressed mood, as measured by the Youth Depression Adjective Checklist for the 11, 12, and 14 year-olds. The military adolescent sample had slightly higher scores on this measure of dysphoric mood than Carey et al.'s sample. However, these differences should be interpreted cautiously because the civilian comparison data (Carey et al.) for these age groups were based on sample sizes of 54, 61, and 191, respectively. Military adolescents did not differ significantly from normative anxiety data provided by Spielberger, Gorsuch, Lushene, Vagg and Jacobs (1983) measured with the trait portion of the State-Trait Anxiety Inventory. The data on family satisfaction reveals that average scores for military

adolescents on the overall scale and on the cohesion and adaptability subscales are similar to the published norms (Olson & Wilson, 1982).

Military adolescents are a mobile group. The MFI sample reported an average of four moves due to their parent's permanent change of station (responses ranged from 0 to 10+) and they are frequently separated from their military parent. Sixty-two percent reported some period of separation from their father during the past year and about half of these separations lasted longer than three months.

In spite of living under circumstances that many would consider adverse, the MFI sample of adolescents held generally positive views of the military. Only about 9% felt that the military was not a good place to raise children and about 5% reported being very unhappy with military family life. In fact, 47% were at least considering the possibility of a military career for themselves. The literature thus strongly indicates that the peculiarities of military family life do not appear to result in adolescents growing up "inside the fortress" (as described by Wertsch [1991]) or being substantially different from their civilian peers.

Youths in military families have many other concerns. A 1991 survey of high school students in a predominantly military area of San Antonio, Texas asked students if they had relatives or friends stationed in the Persian Gulf a few days prior to Desert Storm. Of the student population, "48% reported knowing personally someone who was stationed in Saudi Arabia or the Persian Gulf area" (Oates, 1992, p. 43). From this sample, 69% of the students who knew someone in Desert Storm were very concerned or anxious. This is one example of unique concerns of the military adolescent. Military adolescents are quite likely to have a parent or a friend's parent who is in harm's way whenever U.S. Armed Forces are engaged in a significant conflict anywhere in the world. Few civilian adolescents are faced with such issues.

Recommendations for Youth Programs and Services

Involvement in appropriate activities is associated with higher self-esteem and greater well-being among military adolescents (Jeffreys et al., 1997). As indicated, females and older youths participate in fewer activities than other adolescents. Therefore, it would be advisable to involve more youths, especially the most vulnerable populations, in activities on base/post, off base/post, and at school. These might include, but not be limited to, the following:
- Increase awareness of activities that are available to military youths on and off base/post.
- Involve adolescents in planning activities to increase their investment and thus, participation.
- Coordinate and, where possible, integrate activities on base or post with school and community activities.
- Increase efforts to involve females and older adolescents in athletics and other programs.

These recommendations could be implemented with the involvement of adolescents and at minimal cost.

Military personnel should be encouraged to participate in school activities, especially those programs (academic and non-academic) that foster student involvement. They

should further be made aware of service-wide policies, such as the Army's allowing time off from duty for volunteering. Since September 5, 1997, Army policy has allowed—mission permitting—for soldiers to spend up to one hour per week in volunteer activity. In the Fort Hood area, 6,301 soldiers and Air Force members worked 41,180 hours in over 70 public schools (Willis, 1997). If personnel were encouraged to become more involved in schools and youth activities, important benefits would accrue to all concerned.

The military has attempted to meet the challenge of adolescent substance abuse with 12 pilot programs designed to deal with the problem. All programs were designed for students from elementary to high school. There were eight types of programs in the military's pilot program. These included mentoring or tutoring, adventure camps, physical fitness programs, uniform programs, coalition building, funding of existing civilian programs, parent and community training, and providing various resources. According to an evaluation by RAND, all of the programs ranged from moderately successful to what was considered successful (Caulkins, Fitzgerald, Model, & Willis, 1994). These programs addressed various types of misconduct indirectly through modeling appropriate behavior and providing youth with relationships with caring, interested adults. It would be beneficial if these programs were implemented overseas as a higher percentage of youths living OCONUS reported alcohol use and engaging in antisocial behaviors. At-risk youths should be identified, prevention programs expanded and intervention programs that have been successful in the military (e.g., Caulkins et al.) and civilian populations should be initiated or expanded.

Given the historically high proportion of military recruits from military families, it seems clear that it would behoove the Department of Defense to do everything in its power to not only ensure that its service members' adolescent children are afforded appropriate treatment when necessary, but to actively engage in efforts to ameliorate many of the problems that emerge during the adolescent years. Such efforts, according to the literature, are likely to have immediate and long-term payoffs for enhanced occupational functioning and readiness of the service member. Programs such as the Penn Depression Prevention Project (Seligman, Reivich, Jaycox, & Gillham, 1995) have been effective in preventing psychopathology. Consistent with American Psychological Association President, Martin Seligman's (1998) calls for a positive social science, we should be engaging in active efforts to prevent difficulties before they arise and assist our youth to reach their full potential. Given the extremely high cost of a single day of psychiatric hospitalization or inpatient substance abuse treatment, we cannot afford not to take such actions. Such efforts could target the development of optimism and nondepressotypic attributions, activities that promote self-esteem (e.g., mastery experiences), acquisition of social support, and behaviors that promote health and a sense of physical well-being.

Suggestions for Future Research

Research focused on active screening of adolescents particularly at such natural (and potentially stressful) transitions, as change of station would serve multiple purposes. First, such efforts will prevent youths who are experiencing difficulties with the transition or other issues from "falling through the cracks"; secondly, such data would help to clarify issues related to adjustment to relocation, identifying variables associated with adjusting *easily* versus *with difficulty* or *not at all* to relocations; and

finally, collection of broad-based data over time is the only way to disentangle general developmental trends from the trials and tribulations of passage through adolescents in general. Efforts should also be made to quantify the impact of institutionally approved, but more informal activities aimed at helping adolescents, such as volunteering and the various school partnerships that exist at different installations.

A research agenda influenced by calls for a positive social science would certainly include efforts to clearly describe factors that would be considered strengths of military adolescents. Collection of data from appropriate civilian comparison samples would represent an important improvement in large-scale research efforts with military youths. Efforts should be made to collect waves of follow-up data using the same or similar measures to those used in the MFI's adolescent project. Such data would provide the Department of Defense with a consistent marker of how the adolescent children of service members are faring. Such information can have broad implications across areas such as youth program funding, health services provision and costs, and readiness of service members. Decision-making about youth services should be based on research data to ensure that those populations most at-risk or in need of programming are having their needs met. Research with this population should become a systemic process whereby decisions are made based on empirical data followed by thorough evaluation of the impact of such decisions.

Annotated Bibliography

Bartling, C. A. & Eisenman, R. (1992). Attitudes of American youth concerning military and civilian jobs. *Adolescence, 27,* 407-411.

This study of 306 youths compared the attitudes toward military and civilian jobs among Blacks, Hispanics, Whites, and Asian Americans, and for males versus females. Data were collected via a mailed survey using a sampling methodology similar to Research Triangle Institute's Youth Attitude Tracking Study. Despite an extremely low response rate (6.1%) the data were quite consistent with the results of the RTI study, which used telephone interviewing methodology, resulting in very high response rate, but at a much higher cost. Results showed that Blacks (31%) and Hispanics (45%) had a more favorable attitude toward military service than did Whites (15%) or Asian Americans (8%) as indicated by their plans to enter active-duty military service. Males viewed military service more favorably than females (19% of males vs. 7% of females related definite plans to pursue active duty military service). Military service was viewed as being patriotic and providing leadership training, while civilian jobs were seen as allowing for more freedom and being more enjoyable.

Brown, A. C. & Orthner, D. K. (1990). Relocation and personal well-being among early adolescents. *Journal of Early Adolescence, 10,* 366-381.

The purpose of this study was to examine the effects of relocation on the psychological well-being of early adolescents as indicated by levels of self-esteem, alienation, depression, and life satisfaction. The study also aimed to explore whether there were any differences between males and females in effects of relocation. The data used are a subset (12-14 year-olds) of the responses collected as a part of the Youth in Transition Study (Orthner et al., 1987). Females scored significantly more poorly than males across the four measures, so analyses were conducted separately by gender. The only significant differences found were that females who had moved most recently reported lower life satisfaction than those who had greater residential stability. Females who reported more moves also reported lower levels of life satisfaction and greater levels of depression. None of the comparisons for the males revealed significant differences between frequent or recent movers and their less mobile counterparts. The authors raise the issue that the predominant absence of significant findings may be the result of small samples in the most frequent and most recently moving groups. There are also some measurement issues, using a single item to assess depression and life satisfaction and a three-item scale to assess alienation. Perhaps better measures may have produced very different results.

Clawson, L. D. & James, J. J. (1994). Substance abuse and sexual activity in an overseas population of adolescent military dependents. *Military Medicine,* *159,* **192-195.**

This study compares substance abuse and sexual activity among high school students in Seoul, South Korea with that among their civilian counterparts in the United States.

The authors developed a 12-question survey and administered this with permission from the administration and the school nurse. The participants ranged from 8th grade to 12th grade. Participation was voluntary and confidential. Eighty-three percent of the student population was involved in the study.

The results showed a trend of substance abuse ranging from a low of 18% for males and 24% for females in the 8th grade to a high of 73% for males and 68% for females in 12th grade. As the authors hypothesized, a "history of engaging in sexual intercourse increased steadily with increasing grade." Females in the 12th grade had the highest percentage of sexual activity (83%) while the males were at 50%.

This research shows that this particular sample, if representative of military adolescents, is similar to their civilian counterparts with regard to sexual behavior. The reports about substance abuse vary from study to study so no consensus for usage among civilian adolescents exists. In addition, the study shows that military adolescents, whether they are on the installation or not, are susceptible to the same pressures as the civilian adolescents in the United States. Policies are needed to address the issue of adolescent substance abuse if the military is to remain effective in foreign lands.

Cooley, V. E., Henriksen, L. W., Nelson, C. V., & Thompson, J. C. J. (1995). A study to determine the effect of extracurricular participation on student alcohol and drug use in secondary schools. *Journal of Alcohol and Drug Education, 40,* **71-87.**

The purpose of this study was to determine what, if anything, are the effects of extracurricular activities on student drug and alcohol usage in secondary schools. This is an attempt to assist educators in developing programs to alleviate this problem. Extracurricular activities have been a staple of drug and alcohol programs in schools for years and this article is attempting to understand the extent of experimentation by students to develop programs that are more effective.

A survey was administered to 5,639 students ranging in age from 11 to 19 years of age. The entire sample came from four mid-western schools. This survey took five years to develop with input from drug and alcohol counselors, parents, school personnel, and a drug and alcohol task force as well as a literature review.

Some of the results in this study were consistent with other studies. This study showed that in the sample, 51% of senior athletes used alcohol. Furthermore, 88% of the sample claimed to have either experimented with or used alcohol. In addition, athletes were more likely to use tobacco than other groups. Marijuana and tobacco use was about the same as the national average for adolescents of the same age.

There are many implications for practice and policy. It should be clear that extracurricular activities, *per se*, do not prevent experimentation of the aforementioned substances. Programs, in all likelihood need to emphasize abstinence from these substances. Coaches, teachers and educators in general need to be aware of current statistics and develop programs focusing on alleviating these problems.

Policy implications can range from expulsion to suspension to education. There needs to be education at all levels not just at the students' level. The educators need to be consistent with their teachings as well as their actions. Further research should be done on these programs to determine what works and what is not effective.

This is an interesting article because it challenges conventional wisdom that students involved in extracurricular activities are not likely to get involved with drugs and alcohol. The authors claim that a "no-use message must be an integral part of all extracurricular activities." Based on other research, the problem is that this problem is not likely to be eradicated, only alleviated. Abstinence-based programs may not be as effective as the investigators hope.

Darnauer, P. (1976). The adolescent experience in career military families. In H. I. McCubbin, B. B. Dahl, & E. J. Hunter (Eds.), *Families in the Military System* (pp. 42-66). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

The objective of this study was to identify the nature of the adolescent experience as viewed by adolescent members of Army families and their parents. The major area of inquiry included their informal and formal friendships, leisure activities, and school experiences. Data were collected via structured interviews with a stratified random sample of 60 Army adolescents and their parents (interviewed separately) from a major West Coast Army post. School grades were obtained from the schools the participants attended. The sample consisted of equal numbers of officer and enlisted families.

The data indicated that, in general, neither youths nor parents appeared to view adolescent life in the Army family as dissimilar from adolescent life in civilian communities. The major difference or unique aspect of military life was the adolescents' vulnerability to relocations. Almost no mention was made of father absence, although most families had experienced at least one episode of absence, and for over 75% an absence had been endured since the children entered their teen years.

Geographic mobility seemed to carry both negative and positive effects. The negatives were the somewhat obvious disruptions of school and peer continuity. The positives were a degree of exposure to broader life experiences, including different people and environments, than would be possible by living in one place. A number of parents confirmed that adolescents "getting into trouble" would have negative implications for the father's military career.

An area that appears to need attention is the lack of a formalized arrangement for acquainting youth with what a new community has to offer. It is felt that a welcoming and orientation for youth, similar to those that exist for parents, would be beneficial. This study emphasizes that Army youth do not perceive their experiences as peculiar or unique. This perception and the data support the idea that general theories of adolescence are applicable to youth growing up in a military family.

Gotlib, I. H., Lewinsohn, P. M., & Seeley, J. R. (1995). Symptoms versus a diagnosis of depression: Differences in psychosocial functioning. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology,* **63,** **90-100.**

This paper is based on data from the Oregon Adolescent Depression Project. The primary purpose of this study was to identify psychosocial and clinical characteristics that would differentiate between those individuals who had elevated scores on a self-report depression measure and met the criteria for a depressive disorder (true positives) from those who did not.

The true positive group had significantly higher overall scores on the depression scale used in the study (CES-D). However, these groups did not differ significantly in terms of either number of symptoms endorsed or reported mean duration of the symptoms endorsed.

False positive respondents were more likely to develop a diagnosable psychiatric disorder during the following year than those who did not present elevated CES-D scores (true negatives). This difference in future psychopathology remained even after controlling for history of depressive disorder. Examination of psychosocial variables that might differentiate between the true and false positive groups revealed that after controlling for level of self-reported depressive symptoms, only suicidal behavior differentiated the groups significantly. When the false positives and true negatives were compared across 20 measures of psychosocial functioning, significant differences were found on all but one. After controlling for self-reported depression level, the true positive and false positive groups differed on only four of the 20 psychosocial measures used.

The authors conclude that it is clear from the data on psychopathology and psychosocial functioning that individuals who obtain elevated scores on the CES-D but do not meet the diagnostic criteria for depression demonstrate problematic functioning. They are characterized by elevated levels of current psychopathology other than depression, they are at elevated risk for experiencing psychopathology in the future—particularly depression and anxiety, and they report marked difficulties in psychosocial functioning. Even though these individuals do not meet the diagnostic criteria for depression, there is little question that we should be clinically interested in these individuals.

Chisick, M. C., Lee, S., Raker, T., & Williams, T. R. (1992). A profile of tobacco use among teenage dependents. *Military Medicine, 157*(7), 354-357.

Lee, S., Raker, T. & Chisick, M. C. (1994). Psychosocial factors influencing smokeless tobacco use by teen-age military dependents. *Military Medicine, 159,* 112-117.

This research examines psychosocial correlates of teenage use of smokeless tobacco (SLT) by military dependents. Considerable research has been done on smoking; however, little attention has been paid to SLT.

Self-administered questionnaires were given to 2,257 military dependents attending school in the middle and high schools on military installations. The two installations—Fort Knox and Fort Campbell—were both located in Kentucky. In both studies, outcome variables for use were categorized as "Trier" and "User." These, in turn, were dichotomized by categories of "Trier" and "Non-Trier" and "User" and "Non-User." For the first article, the results of the survey reveal that males and females share five factors for trial usage: parental approval, peer approval, trying smoking, relative usage, and athletic team membership. Being Caucasian, as well as male, is associated with increased usage. There was no effect of knowledge and demographics on SLT trial usage in females. Not surprisingly, the "strongest explanatory variable" for trial use was whether the teenager had tried smoking. Females who tried smoking were 8.6 times more likely to try SLT as opposed to those females who never smoked. Males were 7.4 times more likely to try SLT if they had previously tried smoking.

For the second article, the results show no significant differences by rank or the type of unit (combat, non-combat, and unknown) for the sponsor of the dependents. There was a steady increase in tobacco use with increasing grade in school. In essence, twelfth graders are twice as likely as sixth graders to have ever tried tobacco or smokeless tobacco. Trying tobacco products was highest for White teens and lowest for Black teens. Hispanic, Asian and other ethnic groups ranked between Blacks and Whites.

Not by chance, the availability to purchase SLT is a significant explanatory variable. Therefore, it would make sense that restricting the sale to minors and strict enforcement for offenders who sell SLT to these minors may have a significant impact on reducing the rates of usage by teens.

Since the leading explanatory variable is peer influence, future studies should investigate whether enhancing self-efficacy could help develop refusal skills. It would be practical if teens could learn and develop these skills in a safe environment with a counselor or teacher. These skills may be reinforced at different points in the educational process as well.

Lewinsohn, P. M., Hops, H., Roberts, R. E., Seeley, J. R., & Andrews, J. A. (1993). Adolescent psychopathology: I. Prevalence and incidence of depression and other DSM-III-R disorders in high school students. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 102*(1), 133-144.

Adolescent depression predicts future adjustment problems in the areas of marriage, dropping out of school, unemployment status, involvement with drugs, delinquent behavior, being arrested, being convicted of a crime, and being in a car accident. Moreover, having an episode of depression early in life substantially increases the risk for future episodes during adolescence and later in life. This article represents one of a series of publications reporting findings of the Oregon Adolescent Depression Project (OADP). The OADP consisted of the longitudinal, prospective assessment of a large (1,710 at time 1 and 1,508 at time 2), randomly selected group of high school students at two time points separated by one year. Its use of rigorous diagnostic criteria, large, representative, community-based sample, and a wide array of psychosocial measures distinguish this project from many similar efforts.

Almost 10% of the respondents met criteria for a current psychiatric disorder and more than 33% had experienced a disorder over their lifetime. Major Depressive Disorder (MDD) had the highest lifetime prevalence rate, followed by anxiety disorders at time 2, while at time 1, anxiety disorders were most prevalent. Substance abuse and disruptive behavior disorders ranked 3rd and 4th respectively in terms of both current and lifetime rates. Females were found to experience significantly greater incidence of mental disorder, with 42.3% versus the males 31.8% having had at least one disorder in their lifetime. Of the adolescents with MDD, 88.6% were judged to have moderate to severe symptoms and 93.2% were judged to be in need of treatment.

The authors point out that their sample did not include adolescents who dropped out of school before time 1. They feel that this likely led to an underrepresentation of the most severely disturbed and delinquent adolescents.

The results indicate that the number of high school students who become depressed during a one-year period is high. Taking a hypothetical example of a school with 1000 students, during a 1 year period 42 students would be expected to become depressed for the first time in their lives and 32 who had a previous episode would be expected to relapse.

Female students scored substantially higher than males on all indices of unipolar depression, there was no gender by age interaction, the gap that existed between males and females at age 14 did not widen. Disruptive behavior disorders and substance use disorders were more frequent in males regardless of age.

Lewinsohn, P. M., Roberts, R. E., Seeley, J. R., Rohde, P., Gotlib, I. H., & Hops, H. (1994). Adolescent psychopathology: II. Psychosocial risk factors for depression. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 103,* 302-315.

This article represents one of a series of publications reporting findings of the Oregon Adolescent Depression Project (OADP). Please see the summary of the Adolescent Psychopathology I article above for a summary of the methods and design.

The objectives of this study were to: 1) identify the distinguishing psychosocial characteristics of depressed adolescents; 2) ascertain whether and to what extent depression-related psychosocial characteristics persist after remission; 3) assess the extent to which these psychosocial characteristics constitute risk factors for future episodes of depression; 4) examine gender differences in the variables associated with current, past, and future depression.

Membership in the never depressed group was best predicted by being male, younger and living in intact (i.e., two biological parent) families. Thus the results for demographic variables indicate that females, older adolescents, and those who have experienced familial disruption are at increased risk for having an episode of a depressive disorder. Given that the psychosocial variables selected for this study were based on their association with depression in adults, the findings indicate that depressed adults and adolescents share similar characteristics.

Interestingly, a number of factors were significantly correlated with being depressed but were not predictive of a future episode of depression. Self-rated social competence, social support from friends, interpersonal attractiveness, poor self-rated health, impairment due to injury or illness, current cigarette smoking, past substance abuse, disruptive behavior, and current anxiety disorder were related to current depression, but were not significant predictors. This suggests that these factors are concomitants, and not causes, of a depressive state. Conversely, a number of variables were not associated with being depressed but were found to be significant predictors of a future depressive episode. These included conflict with parents, dissatisfaction with grades, failure to do homework, and current miscellaneous diagnoses. These factors may represent "triggers" for depressive episodes.

Orthner, D. K., Giddings, M. M., & Quinn, W. H. (1987). *Youth in transition: A study of adolescents from Air Force and civilian families.* **Prepared under contract to Dept. of the Air Force, Office of Family Matters. Athens, GA: University of Georgia, Center for Work and Family Issues.**

This study represents one of the first large-scale comparisons of Air Force Youth with their civilian counterparts on a number of variables. Samples of students between 12 and 19 years old were selected from middle and high schools in the vicinity of three Air Force bases. Data were collected from slightly over 2,400 youth, about two-thirds from civilian families and one-third from Air Force families. Their data indicated that Air Force youth are about twice as likely to plan a military career as their civilian counterparts.

While there were no major differences between civilian and Air Force youth in general life satisfaction, there were substantial gender differences, with females reporting a lower level of satisfaction than males. Girls from Air Force families were the least satisfied across a number of domains of their lives. Air Force females also reported the lowest levels of self-esteem and, compared to Air Force males and civilian males and females, were most likely to endorse a depressive symptom during the past month. Females from Air Force families also reported the highest level of feelings of alienation. While the majority of youths who participated in the study reported satisfying relationships and frequent interactions with their parents, Air Force girls were least likely to report this kind of relationship with their parents. There was little difference between Air Force and civilian youths in overall levels of stress reported. Females in both groups reported higher levels of stress than their male counterparts. Perhaps due to frequent relocations, Air Force youth also reported smaller support networks that can help them cope with stress.

In their overall conclusions, the authors relate that the majority of youth are adjusting quite well on most of the dimensions that were assessed. Air Force males are the most psychologically healthy group and Air Force females appear to be experiencing the most difficulties.

While this study was certainly a step forward in the assessment of military adolescents, the report leaves the reader with numerous unanswered questions. Often the report is unclear with respect to whether assertions arise from the data collected in the study or are based on the research literature or are simply the authors' opinions. They also fail to adequately address the distinction between a depressive syndrome and the endorsement of a single symptom, at any time "during the past month." It is quite misleading to refer to this single item as a measure of depression, since brief periods of dysphoria are quite common among individuals who may never meet the criteria for a depressive disorder. References to empirical research supporting the numerous assertions in the report would have greatly enhanced the credibility of the information provided.

Pittman, J. F. & Bowen, G. L. (1994). Adolescents on the move: Adjustment to family relocation. *Youth & Society, 26,* 69-91.

This paper presents analyses of data collected by the U.S. Air Force from 882 adolescents between 12 and 18 years old. Spheres of adjustment considered were personal/psychological adjustment; adjustment to the external environment (new community); and adjustment in relationships with parents. Significant predictors of positive personal/psychological adjustment included external adjustment, positive relationships with parents, family support, higher father rank, being male, increasing age, and being Caucasian. Dissatisfaction with treatment by locals, and difficulty making new friends were predictive of poorer personal/ psychological adjustment. The overall model accounted for 33% of the variance in personal/psychological adjustment; thus, a substantial proportion of the variance is attributable to other factors. Better external adjustment (adjustment to the community) predicted significantly lower levels of dissatisfaction with rate of relocation, less dissatisfaction with treatment by locals, and less difficulty making new friends and leaving old friends. These variables accounted for 25% of the variance in the model, again leaving a substantial proportion explained by other factors. Finally, the significant predictors of positive relationships with parents were less reported dissatisfaction with rate of relocation, greater levels of family support, lower levels of friendship support, higher parental rank, being female, and being Caucasian. These predictors accounted for 21% of the variance in adjustment in relationships with parents.

The authors interpret the results as being consistent with McCubbin's ABC-X model, in that stressors, resources, and definition of situation are all related to adjustment. This research also illustrates the interconnectedness of adjustment across the three domains that were assessed. The authors state that efforts to use these results for policy or program development should begin with the understanding that all moves are not perceived as negative. The greatest policy and program emphasis should be directed toward rapid and successful integration of relocated adolescents into the new community. Efforts to strengthen the parent/adolescent relationship during and following a family move would likely pay large dividends. Peer support groups are recommended as one means of intervention.

While these recommendations seem sound given the data presented, another extremely important piece of information is not addressed. That is, what hypothesized factors would account for the large proportion of variance in adjustment scores which is not accounted for by any of the predictors presented in this paper? It seems that what is needed are efforts to clearly delineate the factors that account for the 67-79% of variance, which was not accounted for here.

Schroeder, D. F., Gaier, E. L., & Holdnack, J. A. (1993). Middle adolescents' views of war and American military involvement in the Persian Gulf. *Adolescence, 28*, 951-962.

This study collected data from 189 eleventh graders in order to examine a number of issues. First, the authors aimed to compare contemporary adolescents' attitudes about war with attitudes reported in studies done with similar groups during the Vietnam War and the Grenada and Panama conflicts. Secondly, they wanted to determine the effect of such variables as location (urban vs. rural), gender, and race on war-related attitudes. Third, they investigated whether developmental or cultural influences were more important in determining attitudes toward the Gulf War. Finally, the research evaluated how the experience of the Gulf War may have affected adolescents' assessment of war as a contemporary social issue and their general attitudes toward American military involvement.

They found that overall, males and particularly rural males were the most highly tolerant of war, in general. Comparisons with the data collected at the time of other conflicts revealed remarkable similarities in the level of agreement with statements such as "wars are sometimes needed," and "people should never fight a war for any reason." Of the statements that showed a significant difference, the difference was in the direction of the current group of youth being less tolerant of war than the subjects in previous studies. The subjects in this study were more approving of the government's decision to enter the Persian Gulf War than past subjects were of the military actions of their times. The differences found between rural and urban males' tolerance of war seem to indicate that cultural factors may be involved in such attitudes. The present data suggest that, in spite of a developmental tendency to resist authority, adolescents do join in the popular support for a war perceived as just, such as the Persian Gulf War.

Seligman, M. E. P., Reivich, K., Jaycox, L., & Gillham, J. (1995). *The optimistic child: A revolutionary program that safeguards children against depression and builds lifelong resilience.* **Boston: Houghton Mifflin.**

Despite the credo of the "feel good" self-esteem movement, depression has become epidemic in the United States. Prevalence rates of depression are currently about ten times what they were in the fifties. Based on 30 years of scientific research, Seligman asserts that this incredible increase in rates of depression can be mainly attributed to pessimism run rampant in our society. The "self-esteem movement" focuses primarily on the feeling good side of one's self-concept. Seligman asserts that by emphasizing how we feel at the expense of focusing on accomplishments, e.g. mastery, persistence, and meeting challenges, we are inadvertently creating a generation of children at serious risk for depression. When an individual is doing well, feeling good will follow. According to Seligman, our successes or failures in the world cause our level of self-esteem to be what it is, not vice-versa.

The Optimistic Child presents the results of techniques used in the Penn Depression Prevention Project. This long-term research study clearly demonstrated that teaching children to challenge their pessimistic thinking could serve to "immunize" them from later episodes of depression. This book challenges the widely accepted notion that unconditional positive feedback is needed by children in order to do well. This mindset is replaced with an emphasis on learning optimism and other important skills that create children who are able to persevere and overcome whatever challenges life places before them.

Unlike most popular psychology books focusing on child rearing or self-improvement, *The Optimistic Child* is based on a vast body of clinical and research literature rather than simply opinion.

Strauss, M. & Kantor, G. K. (1994). Corporal punishment of adolescents by parents: A risk factor in the epidemiology of depression, suicide, alcohol abuse, child abuse, and wife beating. *Adolescence, 29,* 543-563.

Research has repeatedly revealed that the use of corporal punishment with toddlers or young children is the norm in the United States. The current study aimed to examine whether this pattern continues into adolescence and whether the use of corporal punishment is associated with psychosocial problems during adulthood. The authors are careful to stress the fact that corporal punishment is a risk factor that increases the likelihood of psychological difficulties, not a solitary cause.

The findings reported are based on 4,500 families of the 1985 National Family Violence Survey, which used a national probability sample. Of these families, 2,149 had minor children living in their home, and thus could be queried about their corporal punishment practices.

About 50% of the respondents reported that they had been subjected to corporal punishment during their teen years. This figure is consistent with the proportion of those interviewed who reported that they utilized corporal punishment with their adolescent children. While these figures may seem high, the authors relate that they are quite consistent with other research in this area.

Analyses showed a clear and relatively consistent increase in probability of depressive symptoms, suicidal thoughts, child abuse, spousal assault, and alcohol abuse. The increase in the probability of these difficulties across the range of frequencies of corporal punishment (0 times to 30 or more times) ranged from about 10% to nearly 30% across the difficulties assessed.

The authors conclude that eliminating all use of corporal punishment has powerful potential as a method of primary prevention of physical abuse of children and spouses, depression, suicide, and drinking problems. They assert that parents need to be unambiguously informed that spanking or hitting children or adolescents is *never* appropriate because, even though it may serve to correct an immediate problem, it places the child at risk for serious problems later in life.

Teachman, J. D., Call, V. R., & Segal, M. W. (1993). Family, work, and school influences on the decision to enter the military. *Journal of Family Issues,* *14,* **291-313.**

This paper uses data from the High School and Beyond study, collected from a stratified random sample of 2,878 high school seniors while they were in school and at three follow-ups, at two year intervals. Enlistment in one of the five military services was the dependent variable.

The hypotheses were as follows:
1) Marriage is associated with a reduced likelihood of entering the military.
2) Parenthood is associated with a reduced likelihood of entering the military.
3) School enrollment is associated with a reduced likelihood of enlisting in the military.
4) Employment is associated with a reduced likelihood of enlisting in the military.
5) The association between marriage and parenthood and military enlistment is less negative for Black men compared to White men.
6) The association between work and military enlistment is less negative for Black men compared to White men.
7) The association between school enrollment and military enlistment is less negative for Black men compared to White men.

They found that 13% of the young men in the study enlisted in the military. Blacks were more likely to enlist than Whites (19% vs. 11%). Hypotheses 1, 2, and 5 were not supported by the data. Thus, family roles were not significantly associated with joining the military. Hypotheses 3, 4 were partially supported and 6, and 7 were supported by the data. Work and school enrollments were found to significantly reduce the likelihood of military enlistment for White men, but not for Black men. The authors conclude that the military may be an attractive career to young Blacks who could also be successful in the civilian labor market. Whites who enlisted were more likely to be individuals who did not have strong work and school attachments. Thus, the authors conclude that the military is not an attractive career choice to young Whites who would be likely to be more successful in the labor market. They point out that there is not much research relating recent military service with life course outcomes post-service.

Ursano, R. J. & Norwood, A. E. (Eds.). (1996). Emotional aftermath of the Persian Gulf War: Veterans, families, communities, and nations. Washington, DC: American Psychiatric Press.

(Information presented here is from multiple sections. All sources used are cited in reference list)

During the Gulf War 32,048 children were affected by the deployment of their 22,895 single parents. These children represent approximately 8.2% of all children of deployed active-duty, reserve, and National Guard personnel. About 140 American children lost one of their parents during the Gulf War. During Operations Desert Storm and Provide Comfort 106,047 reservists were deployed to the Gulf. Of these reservists, 13,387 were single parents.

Of particular concern during the conflict in Iraq was the number of American families in which both parents were military members who were sent overseas, forcing them to leave their children with a primary caretaker who, in many cases, was not familiar to the child. The evidence suggests that relatively brief parental absences during wartime situations are associated with modest, temporary behavioral and emotional symptoms in family members. Longer or more frequent absences may exert more persistent effects.

Separations from parents can sometimes result in increased levels of functioning and enhanced personality development. There is evidence to suggest that substantial proportions of children are able to call upon intrinsic coping capabilities during crises, reaching new levels of adaptation and coping. The opportunity to exert control over individual responses to war stressors may have important eventual consequences for developmental outcomes. Age and developmental factors are likely to set important limits on adolescents' ability to respond adaptively to such crises. The presence of strong community and social supports may buffer the effects of adverse experiences on adolescents. It is recommended that the absent parent's place be kept "open" during a separation to facilitate their eventual reintegration into the family upon their return. When treating adolescents who are having difficulties during such separations it is recommended that individual psychopathology be de-emphasized and that the focus be on promoting family strengths, cohesion, and coping.

Women now account for approximately 10% of all Americans serving in uniform, holding a much wider range of occupational specialties than in the past. During the Gulf War, approximately 5,700 dual-career military couples were deployed, leaving 4,656 children behind. Although each single parent is required to have a family care plan describing provisions for childcare in the event of deployment, many service members' plans were found to be outdated or flawed. Units in which family support systems were in place prior to the initiation of deployments to the Gulf were more successful in dealing with the process smoothly than units where family support activities were initiated in response to this specific event.

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Chapter 10

FAMILY READINESS

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Introduction

Throughout U.S. military history, family factors have played significant roles relative to issues of mission readiness and member retention (Albano, 1994; Bell, Stevens, & Segal, 1996; Bowen, 1986). Building on the pioneering work of Hill (1949/1971), McCubbin & Patterson (1983), and Orthner (1980), researchers have brought to light the nature of the relationship between supportive, adaptive families and the effects they have on the service member and the level of mission readiness (Campbell, et al., 1991; Knox & Price, 1995a; Kralj, Sadacca, Campbell, and Kimmel, 1991) and retention decisions (McCubbin & Patterson, 1982; Segal, & Harris, 1993).

Segal and Harris (1993) cite the following reasons why family adaptation to the military way of life is a major concern. First, positive family adaptation is associated with positive responses to job requirements and higher morale. Second, many families adapt poorly and therefore military policy should target these families and build on their identified strengths. Third, prevention is less expensive than dealing with the results of poor family adaptation.

Family adaptation has been investigated largely as an outcome of the family's efforts to cope with crisis, but as Orthner and Bowen (1990) cite, it is most often defined from an interactionist perspective as an outcome or level of "fit" between families and the systems in their environment. Segal (1986) has identified both the military and the family as being "greedy" institutions in terms of commitment, loyalty, time, and energy of the service member. A "good fit" would be characteristic of a family who could balance the needs of the military as well as its own in terms of meeting the military mission and the physical and emotional needs of family life.

Various changes that affect family adaptation have occurred within the military over the past twenty years; these include:
1) An increase in personnel tempo which results in more frequent separations from family; excessive tempo also threatens long-term readiness (Gravino, Segal, Segal, & Waldman, 1993; Wong, Bliese, & Halverson, 1995).
2) Changing demographics and family composition translate into more non-traditional families entering the service; with these come increased pressure for both the military and the family to address issues of dependent care and life-stage relationships as they relate to the military mission (Knox & Price, 1995a; Parker, 1994; Schumm, Bell, Palmer-Johnson, & Tran, 1994).

3) Downsizing and subsequent role enlargement of the reserve component brings concerns of more deployments in the families of the reservists; concern also exists regarding the availability of support services in the civilian sector to assist these families to successfully cope with the increased stresses (Black, 1993; Defense Science Board Task Force on Quality of Life, 1995; Knox & Price, 1995b)

4) Institutional changes also affect family adaptation (Moskos, 1977; Orthner, Bowen, & Beare, 1990; Segal, 1986; Sorensen, 1994). These changes have made the formation of adaptive families even more critical to the success of the U.S. military's mission as it prepares to address the challenges of the next century (Curtin, 1994).

What We Know

Family readiness is defined as a family's ability to positively adapt to and/or effectively deal with the stressors associated with military danger and a military life style (Burnam, Meredith, Sherbourne, Valdez, & Vernez, 1992; Campbell, et al., 1991; Orthner, Bowen, & Beare, 1990). Bowen, Orthner, and Bell (1997) posit that families must adapt internally to family life stage demands as well as externally to stressors of a military life style.

From a military perspective, an adaptive family system supports the service member in achieving his or her military requirements (Orthner & Bowen, 1990). In other words, the family supports their service member to achieve and maintain individual readiness to complete the mission by not allowing family issues to be a hindrance or distraction. At the same time, the service member has a responsibility to see that the emotional, physical, and financial needs of his or her family are met.

Schumm, Bell, and Tran (1994) and Teitelbaum (1988) identify separation, relocation, adaptation to danger, and the military as an institution as the major external sources of stress for military families. Factors that contribute to developing higher levels of readiness can also be generalized to issues of retention (Bowen, 1990b; Oliver, 1991; Orthner, 1990; Scarville, 1993).

Family Support Services
They should 'fit' family needs

Military families should be seen as differentially adapting to their own perceptions of family and military stressors (Eyre, Segal, & Segal, 1993). Rank, demographics, and life stage (Bowen, 1990a) create unique adaptation issues for military families. For example, the realities of military life for junior enlisted families are very different from those of officers and their families. Research shows that junior enlisted spouses are more likely to exhibit lower levels of readiness, as well as to view deployment as stressful (Bell & Teitelbaum, 1993; Kerce, 1994). Junior enlisted families are also less likely to view support services as being helpful, and not surprisingly, those living off base are seen as prime candidates for out-reach services (Bell, 1993). Off-base families have had fewer opportunities than their on-base colleagues to form friendships and support networks. This has delayed the degree to which they have adapted to the

military way of life. Additionally, factors such as low family income and less experience in addressing the emotional rigors of family life tend to place junior enlisted families at risk.

Life stage issues, as they relate to readiness and retention, present challenges for families and unit leadership to address. Families who have entered the child rearing stage find separations and relocations particularly difficult. Segal and Harris (1993) found that "more than one-half of the married soldiers with children reported problems with moving, setting up a household, and relocation costs" (p. 37).

Typically, families with more children and older children experience greater difficulty with relocation (Schumm, Bell, & Tran, 1994). The finding that married soldiers are more likely to take time off for personal/family reasons as compared to single, (childless) soldiers emphasizes the family structure or life stage influence on readiness (Burnam et al., 1992, p. 41). Regardless of the considerations of differences in rank, family structure, and life stage factors, there is a positive relationship between families who are satisfied with the military way of life and their readiness level.

Unit-Level Command
A Key to Developing Positive Family Support

The amount of support families receive for a given deployment and the amount of stress they experience are closely related (Bell, Bartone, Bartone, Schumm, & Gade, 1997). Key sources of support, especially during deployment, are at the unit level. Sadacca, McCloy, & DiFazio (1992) note that the most important family factor in readiness is the support that unit leaders provide to the soldiers and their families. It is the perception of support by military leadership that is associated with higher levels of family commitment to the military. Unit-level support is also a positive factor in issues of retention. Support efforts organized before deployments have been shown to be very effective in preventing stress build-up in families (Bell, 1991).

"A well prepared (Army) support system promotes positive coping responses" (Segal & Harris, 1993, p. 41). Unit level commanders cannot afford to wait for a deployment to occur to address support needs of families. Information should be provided regarding the availability of both installation and community-based services addressing childcare, employment, and counseling resources. Unit commanders have a responsibility to create an atmosphere that acknowledges the importance and encourages the formation of informal social networks between families. Research (Teitelbaum, 1993) and experience (U.S. Army War College, 1992) have shown that informal support networks are often the preferred option for families during deployments.

Active, organized Family Support Groups under the leadership of trained, pro-family unit-level commanders accomplish several tasks: 1) They provide timely and accurate deployment and support service information to families. 2) They give to deployed families the impression that the leadership cares for the service member and family. 3) They address family life stage concerns of the deployed families. 4) They are an effective tool to maintain high levels of positive family adaptation, particularly in times of deployment.

Future Focus

Data gathered from families experiencing recent past and present-day deployments (Bell, 1991; Gravino et al., 1993; Hill, 1949/1971; U.S. Army War College, 1992) have not only reinforced current successful efforts of providing family support, but have also highlighted areas where future research and program efforts should be directed. The factors influencing levels of family readiness and soldier retention have been extensively researched and future efforts should focus on how best to use these technologies to build more effective delivery systems (Bell, Stevens, & Segal, 1996; Bowen, 1990a; Campbell et al., 1991; Rosen, Moghadam, & Vaitkus, 1989).

Leadership Training for Unit Commanders

The complexities of the modern-day military family, coupled with the increase in personnel tempo, provide reasons to better educate and train unit-level commanders in their efforts to support families. Training would assist commanders to "establish a climate supportive of soldiers and their families" (Oliver, 1991, p. viii) and would, as Teitlebaum (1988) suggests, enhance a 'culture of caring' at the unit level. Segal and Harris (1993) suggest that "meeting soldier and family needs" should be a part of the commanders' evaluation. Bell, Stevens and Segal (1995) echo the importance of having trained unit level leadership during periods of deployment, but they underscore the need for further education.

Supportive Communities for Military Families

Efforts such as STARR (Parker, 1994) and READY (Knox & Price, 1995b) are exemplars of projects that take into account quality of life concerns (Defense Science Board Task Force on Quality of Life, 1995) and address life stage stressors (Gravino et al., 1993). Through the employment of both group and individually focused education sessions, information and support are provided to families to help them make positive adaptations to military life (Orthner, Devall, & Stawarski, 1990). Additional community-building efforts should include:

- a focus on special needs of junior enlisted families by developing comprehensive support systems that key in on reducing relocation and separation stressors (Bell, Scarville, & Quigley, 1991; Kerce, 1994). Specifically, mechanisms should be developed that can provide the most advance notice of a relocation, as well as pre- and post-move information. Black (1993) suggests further targeting of support services for junior enlisted spouses and for those families who have never endured a previous separation.
- provision of outreach services to all families living off installation. Services should include supports that are sensitive to the life stage phase of families. Caring for 'sandwich' families should be of particular concern to policymakers (Pliske, 1985).
- identification of support needs for reserve component families and the potential civilian resources that could meet those needs (Bell, Segal, & Rice, 1995). Knox & Price (1995b) point out that new partnerships of support must be forged with resources in the civilian sector, as reserve families do not often take advantage of installation-based supports.

Future Research

Building on McCubbin and McCubbin (1986), Bowen (1990a), and Teitelbaum (1990), research has shown how families cope and which families will most likely experience stress (Schumm, Bell, & Tran, 1994). With both active and reserve components experiencing more frequent deployments, efforts should be made to re-visit the family resiliency and coping-pattern questions. Wong, Bliese, and Halverson (1995) suggest that the deployment experience somehow inoculates the family against suffering anxieties due to additional future deployments. Related research would study the effects of multiple deployments on the family's tendency to continually role shift (Burke & Moskos, 1996), as well as the effects that the increase in tempo has on retention decisions.

Annotated Bibliography

Bell, B. & Teitelbaum, J. M. (1993). *Operation Restore Hope: Preliminary results of a survey of Army spouses at Fort Drum, New York. Supplemental Material: Appendix A, B* **(Research draft report). Washington, DC: Walter Reed Army Institute of Research.**

This research report is based on findings from spouse surveys and interviews that examined the difference between family support systems during the Operation Restore Hope (ORH) Somalia deployment and those during Operation Desert Shield/Storm (ODS/S). The first part of the study consisted of spouses, Rear Detachment Commanders, Family Support Group leaders, housing unit mayors, and family support service providers. These interviews aided in the development of the questionnaire for spouses. The spouse questionnaire was administered to a representative sample of the 10th Mountain Division units at Fort Drum. The response rate was 46%, which included 700 spouses of soldiers who had deployed to Somalia, and 300 spouses of soldiers who had not deployed to Somalia. Most deployed spouses at Fort Drum found the deployment to be stressful. The average length of time between deployment and first successful communication contact was 22 days. In comparison to ODS/S, deployed ORH spouses were less likely to experience difficulties with daily family life tasks or loneliness for deployed soldiers. Only 61% of ORH spouses were satisfied with the level of public support for the mission, as compared with 92% for the ODS/S spouses. Spouse perceptions of Army support during OHR were generally positive. A major area of improvement over ODS/S was command delivery of relevant information to spouses and family. As in other deployments, the primary support for waiting families was their friends and relatives.

Bell, D. B. (1991, November 19). *The impact of Operation Desert Shield/Storm on Army families: A summary of findings to date* **(AN 1597). Paper presented at the 53rd Annual Conference of the National Council of Family Relations, Denver, CO.**

This report is a summary of the research findings on family adaptation to the stresses of Operation Desert Shield and Desert Storm (ODS/S). The findings are compared and contrasted with previous research on long separations and deployments. The general adaptation model proposed by Lavee, McCubbin, and Patterson is used to organize the summary. The author states that deployment events and their usual consequences are stressors for families, but current and unresolved life events emerge and intensify during a soldier's deployment. Families may use various tools to cope with these stressors and they include: family resources, social networks, and their beliefs that they can cope. Previous deployment research and the current ODS/S findings are generally consistent. The report concludes with several recommendations to assist families in coping with wartime deployments.

Bell, D. B., Bartone, J., Bartone, P. T., Schumm, W. R., & Gade, P. A. (1997). *USAREUR family support during Operation Joint Endeavor: Summary report* (Summary Report 20262785A790). Alexandria, VA: U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences.

This report summarizes the major findings from a joint Walter Reed Army Institute for Research (WRAIR) and United States Army Research Institute (ARI) study of the ability of USAREUR families to adapt to the stresses of Operation Joint Endeavor (OJE) in Bosnia and Hungary. The research consisted of an intensive study of four USAREUR communities and a USAREUR-wide spouse survey. These efforts resulted in group and individual interviews with 257 individuals and surveys from 1,706 spouses. About half of the spouses believed that OJE had a negative impact on them and their families. High levels of emotional stress were seen less frequently than in the Gulf War. Financial problems were less frequent than in other recent major deployments. Use of various family support services was high and the services were evaluated as helpful. Most spouses favored the Rest and Recuperation (R & R) program, and one-third of the spouses reported that their soldiers had taken R & R. In the short-term, R & R seemed to increase stress symptoms, increase depression, and reduce retention desires, especially for spouses with children. Long-term outcomes of the R & R program may be more favorable. Despite reservations concerning the role of the U.S. in the OJE peacekeeping mission, most spouses believed that their soldiers were well trained for the mission and that the Army was working hard to keep their soldiers safe. The authors conclude that most of what USAREUR did in the area of family support should be used as a model for future deployments. Information from this research was summarized, briefed, and disseminated to senior leaders throughout Europe following the data collection.

Bell, D. B., Schumm, W. R., Elig, T. W., Palmer-Johnson, C. E., & Tisak, J. (1993). *Helping Army families cope with deployments: Lessons learned from Desert Storm.* Paper presented at the 101st Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association, Toronto, Canada.

This paper discusses the ABC-X model of family stress. This model views family adaptation as a function of an increase in demands/stressors (factor A), personal and social coping resources (factor B), and perceptions of the overall situation, often called coherence (factor C). A sample of several hundred married, male U.S. Army enlisted and officer personnel who had been deployed to Southwest Asia for Operations Desert Shield/Storm (ODS/S) was used to test elements of the model. Family adaptation (factor X) was measured by soldier reports of how well their families managed, how much family/personal stress they experienced, and how much they worried about their families during ODS/S. While most correlations were small in magnitude, measures of deployment stressors, personal and social resources, and coherence were often significantly correlated with the measures of family adaptation. The paper concludes with a discussion of the implications for Army programs and future research.

Bell, D. B., Stevens, M. L., & Segal, M. W. (1995). *How to support families during peacekeeping missions: A review of the literature.* **Alexandria, VA: U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences.**

This report discusses the 28th rotation of the Multinational Force and Observers (MFO) peacekeepers in the Sinai, which is a composite unit made up of soldiers from the Active Component (AC), the National Guard, and the U.S. Army Reserve (RC). The purpose is to review what is known about family support at the unit level and to apply this knowledge to overseas deployments. The research reviewed is restricted to overseas deployments since 1980 that have involved at least 150 individuals and have lasted six months or longer. Most of the information comes from 45 military family support reports which were generated by military family researchers. The authors found that the overall family support system is actually three interlocking support systems: installation services, unit services, and what the families do for themselves and others. Data from Operation Desert Shield/Storm (ODS/S) show that families are able to meet the demands of daily living, but may often experience emotional symptoms during the early stages of a deployment. These symptoms tend to diminish as the deployment proceeds. The authors conclude that training and resource materials already exist to improve the family support system, but evaluating the effectiveness of these materials and delivering them in a timely fashion to those in need remains the biggest challenge.

Bell, D. B., Teitelbaum, J. M., & Schumm, W. R. (1996, March/April). Keeping the home fires burning: Family support issues. *Military Review, 76,* **80-84.**

This is based on findings from spouse surveys and interviews to examine the family support systems during the Somalia deployment as compared to those employed during Operation Desert Shield/Storm. The study documents the extent to which key family supports that were used during Operation Desert Shield/Storm (ODS/S) in the Persian Gulf (1990-1991) were mandated by the U.S. Army for Operation Restore Hope (ORH) in Somalia (1993). The authors used a spouse survey and interviews to examine the family support systems at the 10th Mountain Division (Light) and Fort Drum, New York during the Somalia deployment. They found that lessons learned from recent Army missions were successfully applied in support of soldier families during ORH, which was an armed operation other than war.

Black, W. G. (1993). Military-induced family separation: A stress reduction intervention. *Social Work, 38*(3), 273-280.

The purpose of this article is to provide practice guidelines to assist social workers in developing interventions to help families cope with military-induced family separation. The goal of the practice guidelines is to strengthen family systems so they can better respond to stress throughout the life cycle. The methodology relies on an extensive review of the military-induced family separation literature covering WWII, the Vietnam War, and peacetime military deployments. Several theories, including Hill's ABC-X model of family stress are discussed. After presenting specific practice guidelines, the author concludes that military-induced family separation is a little-studied topic that was intensified by the Persian Gulf War. The practice guidelines identified in this article can be helpful to social workers in helping families avoid crisis.

Bowen, G. L. (1986). Spouse support and the retention intentions of Air Force members. *Evaluation and Program Planning, 9,* 209-220.

This study examined the direct and indirect impacts of spouse support on the retention intentions of enlisted men, officer men, and enlisted women. The sample consisted of a subset of respondents from a probability sample of 700 U.S. Air Force couples (1400 persons). The sample was restricted to members who had served less than 10 years, and therefore the final sample included 419 couples. The results found spouse support to have a direct effect on the retention intentions of the three respondent groups and an indirect effect on the retention intention of enlisted men. No significant relationship was found between the level of job morale and the retention intentions of Air Force men, enlisted or officer. The authors concluded that Air Force careers may be significantly affected by programs and services that enhance the quality of life for families, especially programs and services that foster a positive environment for children and help couples negotiate a relationship based on partnership and equity. It is suggested that further research expand the present analysis to other service branches, as well as the impact of spouse support on the retention intentions of members, controlling for other variables which have been demonstrated in the literature to effect the career intentions of members. In addition, it is hoped that future studies can employ larger samples to include officer, as well as enlisted, women in the analysis.

Bowen, G. L. (1989). *The relationship of family satisfaction to satisfaction with the military way of life among soldiers* (Tech. Rep. 864). Alexandria, VA: U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences.

This report is based on a secondary analysis of the responses of a stratified random sample of 9,198 Army personnel. The relationship between soldiers' satisfaction with the environment for families in the Army and satisfaction with the military way of life is investigated, thus supporting The Army Family Action Plan 1984-1989. The importance of satisfaction with the environment for families to overall satisfaction with the military way of life was examined separately for officers and participants from six household types. The data were obtained from a stratified random sample of men and women who were surveyed as part of the 1985 DoD Worldwide Survey of Officer and Enlisted Personnel. The results suggest that satisfaction with the environment for families in the Army was a significant predictor of overall satisfaction for four of the twelve sample subgroups. These results suggest that policies for families may have a differential effect on the level of member satisfaction with the military way of life across population subgroups. The author notes that policies and practices directed toward family issues may need to be tailored to specific population subgroups to maximize their chances for a positive impact on Army-related outcome variables, such as soldier retention and individual and unit-level readiness.

Bowen, G. L. (1990a). *Identification of strong/well families and the mechanisms to support them* (ARI Research Note 90-69). Alexandria, VA: U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences.

This report provides an overview and brief summary of the research on family strength that was the basis for a conceptual model of family strength and adaptation in the Army. The report presents a theoretical model and discusses key concepts in the areas of family stressors, family adaptive resources, and family adaptation. The purpose of this paper is to provide an overview and summary of the results from the literature review. The overall purpose is to identify the characteristics of strong/well families in the Army, to determine the advantages and contributions of family strength/wellness for the Army, and to identify the types for programs, services, and strategies at different levels of organizational responsibility for promoting the strength/wellness of Army families. The task of developing and refining the proposed conceptual model from the literature review was divided into several distinct subtasks: 1) development of preliminary conceptual model; 2) model presented both to the ARI Task I Scientist and to members of the Task I Project Team for critical review and comment; 3) literature review; 4) a two-day forum held to discuss each key concept and to work toward conceptual clarity and model refinement.

Various propositions were derived from the model: 1) The presence and pile-up of family stressors have a direct and negative effect on the level of family adaptation. 2) The nature and amount of family adaptive resources have a positive and mediating influence on the effect of family stressors on the level of family adaptation. 3) The nature and quality of family adaptive resources are both a source of support as well as a source of additional stressor and may contribute to the presence, pile-up, and intensification of family stressors. 4) The nature and amount of family system resources directly and positively influences family adaptation. 5) There is a direct and reciprocal interaction between family adaptation to marital and family life and family adaptation to Army life and this is a positive relationship. The authors conclude that the literature review provides an important theoretical and empirical foundation for the Task I effort, but it is vital that the model continue to be tested and refined through secondary analysis of available data sets and on-going literature reviews.

Bowen, G. L. (1990b). *The influence of family factors on the retention decision making process of military members* (Final Report ARI Research Note 90-111). **Alexandria, VA: U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences.**

This article is descriptive in nature, describing the relationships between retention and family factors. The conceptual model posits that both spouse and service member data are important for predicting retention. The most critical predictors of retention in the proposed model are the level of spouse support for a military career and how satisfied the couple is with military work and life as contrasted with how they anticipate things could be in the civilian sector.

Burnam, M. A., Meredith, L. S., Sherbourne, C. D., Valdez, R. B., & Vernez, G. (1992). *Army families and soldier readiness* (Unclassified R-3884-A). **Santa Monica, CA: The RAND Corporation, Arroyo Center.**

This research paper studied the extent to which family responsibilities affect soldier's behavior, motivation, and attitude toward the Army and its mission. The focus was on individual readiness and specifically on how family demands and concerns affect individual behavior among soldiers who are with or without family responsibilities. A survey questionnaire was used to record self-reported measures of readiness. The authors found that soldier's total absences from alerts or deployments in the past year were common. Nearly two thirds of the absences were due to Army related reasons. The authors found that individual characteristics were one major factor associated with individual readiness. Family structure, perceptions of Army environment and practices, and individual well-being were other factors found to be associated with individual readiness. Spouse characteristics generally have little relationship to soldier's individual readiness. The authors conclude that rank is strongly associated with all of the authors' individual readiness indicators, except family self-sufficiency, in which officers show higher levels of readiness than enlisted personnel and senior grades show higher levels than junior grades. Married soldiers have slightly fewer problems than single soldiers, and dual military couples have more job-related problems than other married soldiers, other factors being equal. The authors suggest that males and those with families are more career involved than females and those without families. Women soldiers in dual military member marriages are more likely to report that child-care arrangements are only "fair" or "poor." The authors conclude that positive perceptions of the Army tend to be associated with more adequate child-care arrangements.

Curtin, N. P. (1994). *Military readiness.* **Paper presented at the Testimony before the Subcommittee on Readiness, Committee on Armed Services, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.**

This document is the record of a testimony to the Subcommittee on Readiness, Committee on Armed Services, and the House of Representatives. The purpose of this briefing is to report the GAO investigation into whether the current definition and indicators of readiness adequately reflect the multiple components that contribute to overall military readiness. Four key issues are discussed in this briefing: 1) DoD's system for measuring readiness is not comprehensive, and it cannot signal an impending change in readiness; 2) military commands are monitoring numerous additional indicators to supplement data currently reported, and authors are examining these indicators to see whether there is a consensus on which indicators are most important and have predictive value; 3) a future readiness system should factor in jointness, have predictive capability, facilitate trend analyses, and provide more objective and candid assessments; 4) the commands have expressed concern about the status of current and future readiness, but it is not feasible to give bottom line given the absence of consensus on readiness indicators and how one should view them collectively. The SORTS system (Status of Resources and Training System) measures the extent to which units have the necessary resources and are trained to undertake their wartime mission. Some limitations to the SORTS system are identified in the present briefing. In the past, GAO's use of SORTS data has at times proved somewhat unreliable. The author notes that reports did not always accurately reflect unit readiness and were often overstated or inflated. GAO's efforts to identify critical readiness indicators are identified, and the author notes that these indicators have a great potential for being predictive. The features needed in a future readiness measurement system are also identified and include: assessing joint readiness, facilitating projections and trend analyses, and providing more objective and candid assessments. The author concludes with discussing the current state of readiness and particularly emphasizing personnel and training elements.

Defense Science Board Task Force on Quality of Life (1995). *Quality of life: Final report.* **Washington, DC: Office of the Secretary of Defense, The Pentagon.**

This report provides the Secretary of Defense with recommendations regarding ways and means to improve service quality of life. It is the product of a Task Force (chaired by the Honorable John O. Marsh, Jr.) specifically chartered to study military housing, personnel tempo, and community and family services. Each section of this report is presented in a format that best suits the topic. Housing, for example, is a resource driven concern and thus, lends itself most easily to a framework that highlights fiscal and other resource imperatives. Personnel tempo, on the other hand, is more policy driven and is best presented in a format designed to focus on matters of regulation, procedure, and guidance. Finally, community and family service concerns include a mixture of resource and policy driven initiatives, best presented by a mixed format. The result is three nearly stand alone sections, linked by their individual contributions to service quality of life. In addition to extensive research conducted using the inputs of a variety of government and private organizations, numerous site visits, interviews, and "town meetings" were completed. It was impossible to visit every installation and discuss every unique circumstance or environment. However, a concerted effort was made to visit a variety of locations that would ensure a thorough and complete cross-section of issues and opinions.

Knox, J. & Price, D. (1995b, October 12-15). *Citizen-soldier families: Opportunities and challenges for social work.* **Paper presented at the NASW's Meeting of the Profession, Philadelphia, PA.**

This presentation's goal was to increase social worker awareness of the deployment-induced needs of civilian-soldier families in non-military communities. The authors begin by discussing changes that have occurred in the American military and demographics of the Armed Forces and retired military population. The military culture's impact on families is then highlighted, as well as the various stresses that are commonly associated with the military life style. The military's response to stress, coping, and social support needs is identified. The conclusion of the presentation is devoted to the illustration of a sample program for helping reserve component families cope with deployment. The program is Operation READY (Resources for Educating About Deployment and You), and it was designed to deal with the stress faced by active-duty and reserve Army families. The authors note that military families who are involved and informed are better prepared to prevent unnecessary personal and family stress and to cope successfully.

McCubbin, H. I. & Patterson, J. M. (1983). *One thousand Army families: Strengths, coping and supports.* **Alexandria, VA: U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences.**

This report summarizes the data collection of 1000 Army families (only two-parent families who were not dual-military were included). The purpose of the study was to design research directed at addressing the issues of promoting family wellness and developing the Army-family community. The study looked at personal strengths, family strengths, family distress and community support in an attempt to understand what "strengths" explain how well families are able to adapt to stressful situations and to the Army lifestyle. The survey was conducted in May 1983 on four Army bases in West Germany. There was an 85% response rate from the soldiers and their wives. The focus of the study was on the adaptation to relocation and did not directly address readiness as a factor. However, family separation was a variable that was identified as a major source of family distress. The results focused on well-being of the service member, family distress, family balance, satisfaction with the Army-family lifestyle, intention to extend in Europe, family adaptation. These results are grouped by rank categories (enlisted and officer).

Moskos, C. (1977). From institution to occupation: Trends in military organization. *Armed Forces & Society, 4*(1), 44-54.

This theoretical paper, which was written to examine the military as a social organization, applies a developmental analysis to the emerging structure of the Armed Forces. The author's basic hypothesis is that the military is changing from an institutional format to one more closely resembling that of an occupation. An institution and an occupation are defined and discussed in terms of the military and its association with both. While the military has had, and will continue to have elements of both the institutional and occupational types, the author feels that the military is increasingly moving toward the occupational model. The author discusses the effects of this move and concludes that the occupational shift makes sense out of the current trends in the social structure of the military. He notes that if concern exists with these developments then the root cause, not just the symptoms, should be addressed.

Oliver, L. (1991). *Readiness and family factors: Findings and implications from the literature* **(Research Report 1582). Alexandria, VA: U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences.**

This report discusses the relationship of family factors to readiness. It examines the definition and measurement of readiness, describes how the Army Family Research Program (AFRP) will add to our understanding of family factors and readiness, considers policy and program implications from existing findings, and suggests additional research needs. The findings of this report indicate that the more children a soldier has, the less ready the soldier tends to be. Family stresses diminish readiness and family programs designed to prevent or alleviate such stress are expected to enhance both individual and unit readiness. The author notes that these findings have direct implications for Army policies and programs. The first is the alleviation of family stress through the provision of appropriate policies and programs. The second is the need for training in leadership practices that foster a supportive environment for soldiers and their families.

Orthner, D. K. & Bowen, G. L. (1990). *Family adaptation in the military* **(Research Report 1559). Alexandria, VA: U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences.**

This study is a synthesis of various interrelated activities that the Army Family Research Plan family adaptation research group has been involved in over the past 3 years. Literature reviews, model development,, primary and secondary analysis of available datasets, and field visits to conduct interviews with soldiers, family members, and Army leaders are only a select few of these activities. Family adaptation indicators varied by individual, family, work, and community characteristics. These findings can help guide policymakers and Army leaders in their decisions concerning the family programs that are most likely to foster family adaptation. Future research on military family adaptation needs to expand current efforts in several new directions. More attention needs to be given to multi-method approaches to examining family adaptation, as well as more use of qualitative methods, more short-term longitudinal research, and more intervention research. Without assessing military program effectiveness, it is difficult to judge the utility of a program or to understand the potential contributions that support services may have for military family adaptation.

Orthner, D. K., Devall, E., & Stawarski, C. (1990). *Community satisfaction: Implications for Army communities.* Alexandria, VA: U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences.

This paper reviews the literature surrounding civilian and military communities in an effort to summarize the important factors contributing to satisfaction within these communities. It examines the contribution that community satisfaction makes to the attitudes and experiences of community residents, with a focus on both the civilian and military sector. The paper begins by providing a definition of community, which is followed by a discussion of various approaches that have been taken to community satisfaction. The community in its setting—the environment, physical layout, and demographic characteristics of the community—is then examined. The discussion continues with a focus on the services and informal social networks of the community, and concludes with a comparison of the relationship between community satisfaction and job satisfaction. The importance of community leadership and competence is also highlighted.

Pliske, R. M. (1985). *Families and readiness: An examination of the 1985 DoD Survey of enlisted personnel* (Research Report). Washington, DC: Department of Defense.

This article discusses the results of the 1985 DoD survey of officer enlisted personnel conducted for the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense. The survey addresses soldiers' perceptions of morale, individual preparedness, family composition, and background variables. The discussion in this article is based on a sample of 12,806 active duty Army enlisted personnel. The sample was stratified by service and within each service the enlisted sample was stratified by length of service and sex. The research findings are separated into four categories: deployability, preparedness, morale, and job performance. In regard to deployability, the author concludes that most soldiers are responding quickly and that they have no obstacles to responding to changes in work schedule. With respect to preparedness, the author found that the majority of soldiers do not have written wills and have not granted power of attorney. Furthermore, soldiers married to civilians appeared more prepared for deployment than other types of soldiers. The results of the unit morale questions indicated that males report higher levels of morale than do females. The results of the tests used to assess job performance indicated that dual military couples and parents married to civilian spouses are more likely to have scores in the highest category. The author concludes that the results from the DoD survey indicate that dependent care issues are a substantial problem for Army personnel. The results of the survey indicate that soldiers and their families could be more prepared for deployment.

Rosen, L. N., Moghadam, L. Z., & Vaitkus, M. A. (1989). The military family's influence on soldiers' personal morale: A path analytic model. *Military Psychology, 1(4), 201-213.*

This research report summarizes the relationship of military wives' attitudes to husbands' units and soldiers' personal morale among two groups of soldiers: junior enlisted and noncommissioned officers (NCO). The report builds on Orthner and Pittman's (1986) study, which concluded that organizational support for families does increase the commitment of both family and soldier to the organization in the areas of morale, retention, and job performance. Three additional issues were included in this study: 1) the soldier's assessment of the family's attitudes toward military life; 2) an actual measure of the wife's attitudes toward the unit and its functioning; and 3) the soldier's perception of military and family life fit. The subjects in the study were male soldiers and their wives from the Unit Manning System Field Evaluation conducted by the Walter Reed Army Institute of Research. Surveys were administered at three different times between 1985 and 1986, with a final sample of 326 military couples. Three separate instruments were used in the study: the wives' questionnaire, the soldiers' questionnaire, and the Army/family interface scale. All questionnaires were based on 5-point Likert Scales. The results indicated that wives' attitudes do affect husbands' subsequent morale, but this operates differently among NCO and junior enlisted couples. NCOs are more directly influenced by their wives' attitude, whereas junior enlisted soldiers' morale are more indirectly influenced. In the case of the junior enlisted soldier, the wife's attitudes toward her husband's unit influence his perceptions of a satisfactory interface between the Army and the family which, in turn, influence his morale. This study confirms Orthner and Pittmans' 1986 study that soldiers' perceptions of their families attitudes toward the military and the military's responsiveness to family needs have an impact on work commitment. This study goes one step further to illustrate how the family influences the soldier and vice versa.

Scarville, J. (1993). *Army families: Research findings and their implications* **(Report 9986). Presented to DoD task force on family status and first term enlistment. Alexandria, VA: U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences.**

This report is an overview of Army research conducted under the AFRP program. The findings are summarized from the 1993 Segal and Harris report (What We Know about Army Families). The document is prepared as a briefing report and there are several sections related to Readiness Issues. A very brief description of demographics focusing on marital status is given. "Individual Readiness Rating Items," the "Model of Individual Readiness," and the "Model of Family Adaptation" are described within this report. Several charts that summarize responses to specific questions and scale scores from the AFRP surveys are provided as well. Several recommendations to commanders and DA level policymakers in reference to Retention, Individual and Unit Readiness, Family Adaptation and Community Support are provided. This report is a good summary of the AFRP in presentation format.

Schumm, W., Bell, D. B., Palmer-Johnson, C. E., & Tran, G. (1994). Gender trends in the U.S. Army and a discussion of implications for readiness and retention. *Psychological Reports, 74,* 499-511.

Many of the structural changes in the U.S. Army families can be attributed to an increase in the percentage of female soldiers in the Army. This is a brief report summarizing the advances in gender participation in the U.S. Army. It includes official personnel data and figures reported from a variety of surveys of U.S. Army soldiers conducted since 1979 or earlier. These surveys include: Officer Master Files/Enlisted Master Files (OMF/EMF), Army Sample Survey of Military Personnel (SSMP), The 1979 DoD Survey of Officer and Enlisted Personnel, The 1985 DoD Survey of Officer and Enlisted Personnel, The 1987 Army Family Programs and Readiness Study (RAND), and The 1989 Army Family Research Program (AFRP) Survey. This report found that the percentage of female soldiers remained below 2% until 1971 and more than quadrupled during the next decade, slowing down for a year or two in the "pause" of the early eighties and then increasing to the present levels of approximately 12%. Race, rank, age, and education all appear to be correlated with gender. Retention and readiness issues are also discussed in relation to gender. For example, a survey of 400 dual-military couples indicated that female soldiers were less likely to expect to stay on active duty long enough to retire. And units with a greater percentage of females were more likely to be combat service support-type units, had a higher percentage of higher ranking personnel, had more personnel who lived off post, a higher percentage of married personnel, and a higher percentage of dual-military couples. The authors conclude by stating that to date the literature does not allow an answer to the question of what effect the percentage of women within combat units might have on readiness factors. However, on the basis of the literature to date, it does not appear likely that having females within combat service-support units presents a problem for military readiness.

Segal, M. W. (1986). The military and the family as greedy institutions. *Armed Forces & Society, 13*(1), 9-38.

Both the military and the family unit make demands of individuals in terms of commitments, loyalty, time and energy. Therefore, they have been characteristics of what Coser calls "greedy" institutions. The factors of military life that make it a difficult lifestyle include risk of injury, death of a service member, geographic mobility, periodic separation of the service member from the rest of the family, and residence in foreign countries. The most notable change in the military has been the increase in the proportion of military men who are married, especially in the enlisted ranks. Married enlisted personnel do not live in the barracks, so barracks life has lost some of its character as a total institution. Further, since junior enlisted personnel are generally not eligible for family housing on the base, they live off post, which draws much of their lives away from the military installation. Thus, there is a great potential for conflict between the greedy military institution's demands on junior enlisted personnel and the generally greedy demands of new marriages, which require intense interpersonal and psychological work. Dual-service couples may actually benefit the military organization in two major ways: 1) while personnel assignment systems must be adapted for them, this may be accomplished more easily than coordinating with civilian employment opportunities; 2) couples who are both uniformed members are likely to be more committed to the military way of life and to understand each other's job requirements. The more the military's actions make service members and their families truly hear and believe the message that "the military takes care of its own," the less the conflict will be between these two greedy institutions.

Segal, M. W. & Harris, J. J. (1993). *What we know about Army families* **(Special Report 21). Alexandria, VA: U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences.**

This report draws from over 70 scientific manuscripts, the majority of which are from the Army Family Research Program (AFRP), to answer a variety of common questions asked about Army families. The authors present research findings on family demography, families and retention, families and readiness, family adaptation, and community support programs. Policy, program, and leadership implications are also identified. The report is written in a nontechnical but scientifically accurate manner, so that a diverse audience might find the material understandable and informative. The authors state the need for future research in areas such as the effects of separation on the family, eldercare issues, and diversity within Army families.

Teitelbaum, J. M. (1990). *Soldier deployability and family situation.* **Washington, DC: Walter Reed Army Institute of Research.**

This Walter Reed Army Institute of Research (WRAIR) consultant report analyzes family and Army reasons for lost deployment time, with special attention given to soldiers from non-traditional families. It takes into account previous empirical research on Army soldiers with non-traditional families by using RAND data. Sensing and data collection site visits were made to three deploying installations in CONUS. A total of 15 units were contacted. Interviews were performed with a total of 24 soldiers who had not deployed with their unit or who had returned early from deployment. Interviews and discussions with small unit leaders and officers provided information regarding the deployability of soldiers with non-traditional families as compared with traditional married and single soldiers. The results found that female, single parents and dual career married soldiers are often concentrated in combat support units. Women soldiers are typically the last to be deployed by their unit leaders. Anecdotes from unit leaders exposed widespread beliefs that single parents lose significantly more deployment time than other soldiers due to family problems, which degrades unit readiness. The most negative stereotypes were found to surround single female parents, dual career married women, and pregnant female soldiers. The author recommends that the Army needs to understand actual practices by its unit leaders in order to improve deployment leadership in various types of units. Understanding current deployment selection practices is essential to guide Army unit leaders for future deployment decisions in combat situations.

Wong, L., Bliese, P., & Halverson, R. (1995, October). *Multiple deployments: Do they make a difference?* **Paper presented at the biennial conference of the Inter-University Seminar Armed Forces and Society, Baltimore, MD.**

This paper examines the effects of multiple deployments on soldier well-being and soldiers' intentions to stay in the Army. One component of personnel turbulence, operational deployments, is focused on by the use of field survey data. This data adds to the growing body of research examining the impact of a high personnel tempo on soldiers and their families. Two specific variables are identified in relation to the effects of multiple deployments: soldier psychological well-being and soldier retention intentions. The study sample consists of survey responses from 911 junior enlisted soldiers in Infantry units deployed to Haiti. The Global Severity Index (GSI) from the Brief Symptom Inventory (BSI) is used to assess psychological well-being. Retention intentions are assessed by using a three-item scale. Four variables are included as covariates: rank, belief in mission, horizontal cohesion, and vertical cohesion. The results show all of the covariates, except for rank, being significantly related to retention intentions. Previous deployments are also significantly related to retention intentions. Similar results are found in relation to psychological well-being, where all of the covariates, except for rank, are significantly related to well-being. The author concludes by noting that as the number of operational deployments continues to grow, it is important to monitor the effects of an increased personnel tempo on the attitudes and well-being of the force.

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Chapter 11

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

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Introduction

Violence in families has been occurring in most societies for centuries. Within the last three decades it has been discussed and written about intensively. Research on domestic violence has been presented in professional conferences and journals. According to one literature review on domestic violence (Merrill, 1993), studies of abuse focus more on the history and potential for abuse than on victims, perpetrators and at-risk populations. As well, research typically focuses on women as victims rather than women as offenders. This paper addressing the question of domestic violence within the military and comparing it to domestic violence in civilian populations will attempt to remedy this problem. It examines the etiology of domestic violence, its scope and nature, common elements of at risk behaviors, the military's response to domestic violence, and treatments offered to offenders and victims.

An enduring problem in research on any topic is the definition of terms. The study of domestic violence is no exception. The scope and nature of a topic, the definition of terms, consequences and treatment often depend upon the philosophy and discipline of the investigator/practitioner. Conceptualizations of domestic violence form around the domains of the individual, the couple, or the society. For example, social psychologists regard violence as a learned behavior (Kantor & Straus, 1990; O'Leary, 1988; Walker, 1984). The batterer and victim learn from the roles carried out in their families of origin. Thereafter, situations such as conflicts in work and family trigger violent behaviors (Zimmerman, 1989). The social situational model stresses the cultural norms concerning force and violence (Gelles & Cornell, 1990). Intergenerational transmission of family violence and an environment that supports violence are themes of this theory. Furthermore, when individuals learn that they are helpless and that their responses don't affect the situation their motivation to actively respond diminishes and they become passive and prolong their abuse by their behavior (Seligman, 1975). A problem with this type of theory is that it can lead to blaming the victim because they could leave, but don't leave. On the other hand, survivor's theory suggests that women remain in situations because they have tried to escape to no avail. In fact, leaving the abuser often increases the violence, so they

return. According to Zimmerman (1989, pp. 178-182), 67-88% of victims leave, but return repeatedly. Merrill (1993), from his review of the literature on domestic violence, determined there were six categories of theories or models of domestic violence. They range from single factor models to theories depicting the interaction of multiple variables.

Defining Domestic Violence

What then is domestic violence? Is it physical, verbal, psychological, and/or sexual violence? Whom shall we include when studying domestic violence: spouses, unmarried partners, or former spouses and partners? State and Federal Governments have constructed laws criminalizing acts of violence against known persons and have addressed the issue of relationships between the two parties. Pennsylvania, for example, has two statutes defining spouse battering, the Probable Cause Arrest Statue and the Protection from Abuse Act. The Probable Cause Arrest Statute focuses on man's violence against his spouse or other person with whom he resides or has formerly resided. An abused person can obtain a Protection from Abuse order against a family or household member. This includes "current or former spouses, persons who currently live or formerly lived as spouses, anyone related by blood or marriage, current or former sexual or intimate partners, or persons who are the biological parents of the same child" (Gelles & Cornell, 1990, p.140).

The American Medical Association defines abuse as "...ongoing deliberate physical, psychological and/or sexual abuse..." (AMA, 1992, p.7). On the other hand, the Department of Defense refers to spouse abuse as an incident and does not consider duration, cause, or intent. It includes assault, battery, threat to injure or kill, other acts of force or violence, and emotional maltreatment committed by one spouse against another (Caliber Associates, 1996a, p. 6).

For this review of domestic violence, any research that includes physical violence by a spouse, regardless of the intent and severity of the abuse, will be included. Verbal, sexual, and psychological abuse are often part of the domestic conflict. However, most studies addressing domestic violence only discuss physical abuse. Action is usually not taken against a person for any of these offenses unless physical abuse also occurs. Researchers most often obtain reports of violence from police records and from self-reports from one partner (Caliber Associates, 1996a; Zimmerman, 1989). Therefore, estimates of the prevalence of domestic violence in the military, as well as in the general population, are conservative. It should be noted that data on domestic violence in the military include abuse between spouses while data from the civilian sector include abuse among current and past spouses as well as other partners.

Official Military Reports of Domestic Violence

In the Services' Central Registries (SCR) there were 61,903 substantiated reports of domestic violence by either active duty personnel or civilians married to active duty personnel, between the fiscal year 1991 and 1995 (Caliber Associates, 1996b). There was a low of 11.17/1000 in 1991 to a high of 14.42/1000 in 1994. From 1994 to 1995 the rate declined by 14%. Several types of abuse are included in the Abuse Incident Report: three types of physical abuse (mild, moderate, & severe), sexual, neglect and emotional without physical abuse. Mild physical abuse is the most frequently reported

(69.1%) and severe physical abuse is the least often reported (Caliber Associates). However, the magnitude of the problem of abuse is not accurately portrayed in these reports because of the inconsistency of data across services and the failure to report cases (MacLennan, 1985). MacLennan shows failure to report abuse at the family, friends, and command levels. An analysis of reports of spouse abuse from the U.S. Army central registry found 50,227 initial Army substantiated cases per year from 1989-1995. The rate of spouse abuse for initial substantiated cases was between 8/1000 and 10.5/1000 during this period (McCarroll et al., 1997).

Self Reports of Domestic Violence by Families with a Military Member

A 1997 self-report study of Air Force personnel stationed in the United States shows 17.9% of respondents (response rate of 30.2%) reporting any type of violence with 6% reporting serious violence within the last year (Graves, 1997). Extending the time of abuse from one year to over the relationship, 30% reported any violence and 12.7% any serious abuse. The incidence rate for USAF members perpetrating abuse is 151/1000 overall, for first time reports it is 27.9/1000, and for first time reports when the respondent did not claim self-defense is 31.33 (Graves).

Reports of Domestic Violence in the Civilian Population

Reports of abuse in the general population range from 10/1000 citizens (U.S. Department of Justice, 1994) to 169/1000 respondents (Straus, 1991). The U.S. Department of Justice recorded substantiated abuse cases while Straus used self-reports. In the 1985 National Family Violence Survey (NFVS) 16.1% of participants self-reported any domestic violence and 6.3% severe violence.

Comparison of Domestic Violence in Military and Civilian Populations

Comparing the data on military and civilian populations reported above, it would seem there are more substantiated cases in the military than in the civilian sectors and more self-reporting in the civilian than the military. However, two studies comparing military and civilian populations found more violence self reported by the military than the civilian participants. More Navy trainees (Merrill, Hervig, Milner, & Newell, 1996) reported intimate partner violence over their lifetime (50%) than groups of college students (31.9%). Researchers (Bohannon, Dosser, Holbert, & Lindley, 1993; Bohannon, Dosser, & Lindley, 1995) examined the extent of physical violence in the last year as reported by 94 military couples and compared their responses to 103 non-military couples (Szinovacz, 1983). They found that 56% of the military couples reported violence compared to 36% of the non-military couples. Furthermore, the SCR shows that more active duty military members than their civilian spouses are abusive (Caliber Associates, 1996a).

Domestic Violence Recurrence

Recurrence of abuse in the military and civilian populations is a serious problem. Fourteen percent of offenders in the Caliber (1996a) report who remained in the Armed Forces for three years offended more than once. Of these 29% repeated the offense in the first year, 35% in the second year, and 36% in the third year. The abuse recurred in 24 of the 59 cases of abuse in the Graves (1997) study; 21 of those were not

previously reported to authorities and 3 had been reported. Of these 24 cases, 7 occurred in less than 3 months, 7 within the rest of the first year, 7 between one and two years and 3 in three to four years. From the Army data, 8.8% of the initial substantiated incidents had a recurrence of abuse while the initial case was still open and 6.1% of the initial substantiated incidents cases were re-opened (McCarroll et al., 1997). Long histories of abusive incidents with the same petitioner (87% of the court cases) were also reported in the Goldkamp, Weiland, Collins, & White (1996a) civilian study. From 12-15% of the domestic violence respondents or defendants in one year, depending on the case type, were re-arrested in the follow-up year for offenses in which the original complaining witness or petitioner was again the victim.

At-Risk Factors

In a review of the literature on spouse abuse, Caliber Associates (1996c) examined factors that correlated empirically with abuse. They discussed these risk factors using three domains (individual, couple, and society) and linked them to theoretical explanations of abuse. The risks on the individual level are physiological processes, personality, behaviors, attitudes, and experience. Goldkamp et al. (1996a) found substance abuse was also often involved with domestic violence cases. They reported a conservative estimate to be from 40-50% of defendants or respondents in domestic violence cases who used alcohol or other drugs at or near the time of the precipitating incident. The risk factors at the couple level are length of marriage, power, status, intergenerational violence, stresses, conflicts, and social isolation. Gender, age, race, education, friends, socioeconomic status, employment and where one resides are the societal factors discussed in many studies (Caliber Associates, 1996a; Gelles & Harrop, 1989; Straus & Smith, 1990). Factors identified as relevant to violence among military families include gender, age, length of marriage, education, income, residential mobility, social isolation, behaviors and attitudes, and alcohol use (Caliber Associates).

The authors of the Caliber study (1996b) suggested that military personnel are apt to be at high risk for domestic violence for the following reasons: (1) The population of the military is younger than the general population; (2) personnel are mostly males who have been married for a short time; (3) the education of military members is lower than that of their civilian counterparts; (4) low military pay of younger, new personnel may lead to financial stress; (5) high residential mobility may lead to loneliness; (6) social isolation from family members may lead to depression; (7) behavior and attitudes supporting violence are learned or reinforced by military combat training; and (8) alcohol remains to be a part of the lives of many military members.

Factors that correctly predict violence in the Graves (1997) Air Force study were acceptance of slapping, a young partner, less involvement with other spouses, lower household income, and frequency of partner becoming drunk. Use of violence by the respondent (not in self-defense), frequency of the partner becoming drunk, and a young partner were factors predicting serious abuse. It should be noted that not all the factors discussed previously as being correlated with domestic violence were examined in this study.

Gender Differences in Incidents of Domestic Violence

Data from the Services Central Registries (SCR) show that more men than women are abusive. However, in two military studies, more active duty females than active duty males reported being violent (Caliber Associates, 1996a). Both studies surveyed their active duty members using the Conflict Tactic Scale (CTS) to assess the amount and level of abuse. In the 1997 Air Force Needs Assessment survey, 115 females per 1000 and 111 males per 1000 reported that they inflicted moderate abuse. In an Army study using a modified version of the CTS, 228/1000 active duty males and 311/1000 active duty females reported using aggression during the past year (Heyman, Schaffer, Gimbel, & Kerner-Hoeg, 1996).

In the Graves (1997) study, 15.1% of the sample reported husband to wife violence over the past twelve months, while wife to husband violence was 14.8%. These figures increased over time of the relationship to 23.7% by husbands and 25.4% by wives. Adjusting rates by a report of self-defense decreased the percentage in the past twelve months to 13.7% for both husbands and wives, and over time of the relationship to 20.9% of men and 24.5% of women. A study of couples in a treatment program for severe violence indicated that 83% of the participants committed mutual violence (Langhinrichsen-Rohling, Neidig, & Thorn, 1995). However, one must take into account that the violence in this study was self reported in conjoint interviews where pressures (fear of further abuse) by the spouse might have affected the results.

Archer, a psychologist in Great Britain studying domestic violence in adulthood across Canada, Great Britain, the United States, and New Zealand, found similar aggression across gender, with females using slightly more physical force than men when arguing with their dates or mates. This pattern was more frequent among younger women and those with a dating partner than among older married women (Zuger, 1998). However, in a review of court records, Goldkamp et al. (1996a) found the majority of offender-victim relationships to be male to female. Abuse occurred in other types of relationships—female-male, female-female, and male-male—but over 40% of the cases involved spouse or ex-spouse relationships. One theory suggests that underreporting by males is the reason why substantiated cases and court cases show more males abusing women than women who abuse men. For personal reasons, males seldom report to the police that they have been abused. Moreover, fewer males are injured and thus do not seek medical care where it would be reported. Another theory suggests that similar rates of violence between men and women are a result of the smaller member of the couple (usually women) resorting to more serious tactics in self-defense. Some credence to this argument can be found in the data on self-defense and the rates of serious abuse between men and women in the Graves (1997) study.

As the self-report research described above shows, husbands and wives in the military population, and husband, wives, and partners in the civilian population have been found to abuse each other. However, males exhibit higher rates of the most dangerous and injurious forms of violence, and they repeat the abuse more often than females (Goldkamp et al., 1996a; Graves, 1997; Merrill, Hervig, Milner, et al., 1996; Zimmerman, 1989; Zuger, 1998). Male Air Force personnel in the Graves study reported more serious abuse by themselves than by their spouses over the last 12 months (4.7% and 3.4% respectively) and over the relationship (11% and 6.7% respectively). Regardless of the duration of time examined (last twelve months or over

the relationship), more men (6% and 8.9% respectively) caused injury to their wives than wives to husbands (2.1% and 4.3%). Merrill, Hervig, Milner, et al. found more female Navy trainees (24.9%) reporting physical injuries than male Navy trainees (9%). Additionally, 41.7% of female Navy trainees who reported inflicting physical violence also reported being physically injured, while only 13.9% of the males inflicting violence reported being physically injured. According to the petitioners (victims) in the Goldkamp et al. civilian study, nearly half had reported previous death threats and one-fourth reported previous threats involving guns.

Other Factors Associated with Domestic Violence

The SCR report (Caliber Associates, 1996a) shows that more abuse is reported in the Army than the other services and the amount of abuse increased each year from 1991 until decreasing in 1995. Within each service more abuse was reported among the lower ranks and younger personnel with few reports by officers and older service members. There was little difference in reports by location of residence. Graves (1997) found no correlation between incidents of abuse and family separation or recent moves. Age did, however, strongly correlate with abuse (Caliber Associates; Graves).

Graves (1997) found that over 96% of the 59 couples reporting abuse experienced the first incident prior to 10 years of marriage. Twenty-three of the first incidents of abuse occurred within the first year of marriage and this number decreased as number of years married increased. Recurrence had taken place by the end of the second year in 87% of the reported cases.

To test the intergenerational aspects and other factors associated with violence, Merrill, Hervig, and Milner (1996) used multiple regression analyses on the responses from 882 female and 662 male Navy recruits collected during their basic training. Their data included information on childhood experiences of physical violence (their own by a parent and observation of spouse violence), experiences of intimate partner (IP) violence (received and inflicted), and alcohol problems. Childhood experiences of violence (parent to child physical violence), IP violence received, and alcohol problems were statistically significant predictors of inflicting IP violence for both females and males. Receipt of IP violence in both men and women was only predicted by IP violence inflicted. Physical injury by an IP was predicted by IP violence received for both males and females, but not IP inflicted. For males, alcohol problems statistically increased the variance accounted for in predicting physical injury. Additionally, parent to child violence, IP violence, and alcohol problems predicted adult child abuse risk in females, whereas parent to child physical violence and alcohol problems predicted adult child abuse risk for males. The authors expressed the need for caution in predicting violence by these factors because only a third of the variance was accounted for in the models for infliction and receipt of IP violence. Much less than that was accounted for in the models predicting injury and adult child abuse risk. They suggest, therefore, that there is a need to search for additional variables that can better predict these behaviors.

Reporting of Abuse

Zimmerman (1989, p. 58) estimated that only 75% of victims report abuse. According to Graves (1997, p. 82) the best guess from Air Force reports is that only 8% of abuse incidents are reported and substantiated. Of the 59 couples in the Graves study reporting abuse, only 5 respondents (8.5%) reported the incident to authorities. The civilian literature discusses several reasons for non-reporting of spousal violence: 1) fear of the consequences of reporting; 2) embarrassment; 3) belief that it is a personal matter; 4) belief that they can handle the situation or that the problem is not that serious; 5) lack of information about whom to tell; and 6) fear of being blamed. Four additional reasons for military personnel and their spouses not reporting are: "1) the active duty member's military career would be in trouble; 2) the active duty member would be punished by the military; 3) the active duty member would be kicked out of the military; and 4) it would be unpleasant for the active duty member at work" (Caliber Associates, 1996b, pp. 23, 24).

A study with the goal of getting offenders into the system—not curbing use of violence but reporting spouse abuse—addressed factors that may prevent reporting of abuse (Graves, 1997). The factors examined are many of those reported by Caliber Associates (1996b). The research revealed that required counseling, privacy safeguards, restrictions imposed on the use of alcohol, and limitations on sanctions imposed on the offender would strongly increase reporting behaviors. Availability of educational materials had only a small effect on reporting behaviors, as many (26%) respondents said they would not pick up these materials even if they were available in a convenient place. Mandatory arrest policies appeared to have a counterproductive effect on reporting behavior, especially for first time offenders with no injuries sustained by the victim.

Military's Response to Domestic Violence

There are 3 phases in the military's response to domestic violence. In Phase 1, the Family Advocacy Program (FAP) opens the case, assures the safety of the victim, and notifies the service member's commander, medical treatment facility, law enforcement/investigative agencies and child protective services if child abuse is also involved. Phase 2 consists of the investigation and determination of the case. If the abuse is substantiated, FAP develops a treatment plan and notifies the commander; if the abuse is not substantiated the case is closed. In Phase 3, treatment services are begun and judicial action is taken if appropriate. Cases are reviewed every 90 days. Cases are closed for several reasons depending on the policies of the installation. For example, Fort Carson has two reasons for closing cases: (1) treatment has been completed or is no longer required and there have been no subsequent incidents of abuse within one year or abuse is unlikely to recur due to separation, death, divorce, etc. and (2) treatment was not completed due to non-compliance or because no subsequent abuse has occurred within a year. Judicial or other punitive action in abuse cases is undertaken at the commander's discretion. Court martials for spouse abuse cases have been extremely rare, occurring only in the most severe cases of battery (Caliber Associates, 1996c).

Prevention and Intervention Programs

Domestic violence prevention and intervention programs in the military, as in the civilian sector, are difficult to evaluate. There are inconsistent and limited measures of success, the programs have high levels of attrition, usually control groups are not available for comparison, there is little or no follow-up, and limited access to the victims (Caliber Associates, 1996c).

The Family Advocacy Program (FAP) provides many prevention programs for the military personnel. These programs include: workshops for coping with stress, emergency assistance, spouse support groups, in-home services, counseling, life skills development, family life education and family planning, personal safety training, interpersonal relationship skills training, services for special needs families, affordable and accessible day care, workshops in coping with stresses of military, and support for new parents. Most of these programs, however, only indirectly address the problem of domestic violence and they are not available at all installations (Caliber Associates, 1996c).

Caliber Associates (1996c) reviewed the literature on treatment programs for domestic violence. Programs for offenders, victims, and offenders and victims together were examined. The goals of the programs for offenders include increasing awareness and accountability for actions; enhancing ability to identify and manage the attitudes and emotions associated with violent behavior; decreasing isolation and providing a supportive milieu for change; decreasing hostile-dependent, unhealthy relations; and developing non-violent, constructive methods of conflict resolution. The four basic types of treatment programs available are cognitive-behavioral and psycho-educational; criminal justice interventions; self-help; and individual and group therapy. The first type is based on social learning theory and focuses on changing the cognitive components of behavior. They are often court-mandated, but their success is usually tied to the program being voluntary rather than court-mandated. There are three types of criminal justice interventions: arrest and prosecution, restraining orders against offenders, and coordinated community intervention projects. Arrest and prosecution have had some success in stopping the violence, but restraining orders are not effective when used alone. All of the three interventions appear to be more effective when used in combination rather than singly. No published research on effectiveness of self-help, individual and group therapy programs was found.

A community program designed to provide treatment for domestic violence and substance abuse (Goldkamp et al., 1996a) changed the type of punishment, from sentencing or credit for time served to placing persons in treatment through diversion and probation. After a one-year follow-up period, the treatment approach had a beneficial impact on recurrence. Abusers were randomly ordered to the new treatment, named DSORT (Dual Diagnosis Sentenced Offender Rehabilitation and Treatment) by site officials, or the normal assessment and referral process. Early outcome measures found the DSORT program was more effective in delivering treatment (6% of DSORT group and 14% of control group was re-arrested during the seven-month follow-up for same-victim domestic violence offenses). In addition, enforcing conditions of participation in treatment was more effective in the DSORT group than in the control group (43% of control group and 13% of experimental group were "No Shows"). Furthermore, keeping offenders in treatment was more successful

in the DSORT group than the control group. Twenty two percent of the DSORT group remained in treatment less than one month compared to 45% of the control group, and DSORT participants averaged 160 days in the program compared to 99 days for controls.

Victim interventions include medical/emergency room, crisis, cognitive-behavioral and psycho-educational programs, and individual and group therapy (Caliber Associates, 1996d). One of the national public health objectives mandates identifying, treating, and referring victims of spouse abuse; however, research suggests that medical personnel seldom identify injuries to be a result of domestic violence (Caliber Associates; Hamlin, Donnewwerth, & Georgoulakis, 1991). Only about 30% of women injured by domestic violence are correctly identified and 40% of the women who need medical care had previously been treated for similar incidents. Positive effects of crisis intervention programs are consistently found. The cognitive-behavioral and psycho-educational programs as well as individual and group therapy for victims are similar to those for abusers and are generally effective. Participants in the cognitive-behavioral and psycho-educational programs show an improvement on measures of affect, assertiveness and self-esteem in post-program testing when compared to pre-tests administered prior to the program. On the other hand, as with individual and group therapy with offenders, there is no published research on their effectiveness with victims (Caliber Associates).

Conjoint programs are controversial and there is no agreement about their efficacy. Two concerns with regard to these programs are discussed: the victim's safety and therapists neutrality (Caliber Associates, 1996d). An example of these programs is one that was developed by Neidig (1986). The concerns about evaluating the success of the program, described above were also addressed in his study. Nedig's treatment program was developed from a review of the literature assessing which factors differentiated abusive couples from non-abusive couples. Therefore the program included: both husband and wife (when they wanted to stay together); content on relationship skills (communication and conflict containment); content on responsibility and self-control; material on stress management and anger control; and it addressed work-related stresses and their impact on the family. It was found that most couples were able to suppress violent behavior for the 10 weeks of the program. The majority of couples contacted by telephone at six-month intervals stated there were no additional violence episodes since completion of the program (those leaving the service were not contacted). Both husbands and wives made significant improvement on the consensus and cohesion sub-scales of the Dyadic Adjustment Scale and the locus of control scale (measured by pre-post tests). Program progress was measured by participant's attendance, compliance in class and homework assignments, episodes of violence, and the level of personal responsibility demonstrated. These reports are given to the commanding officers. The most effective predictors of subsequent episodes of violence to date have been based on observations of the subjects' progress and participation over the 10 weeks of the program. The participants also evaluated the program and their own progress. The content (understandability and usefulness) and reaction to the program (involvement, learning, & interest) were measured on a 6-point scale (6 being most positive). For all measures the mean scores were above 5 (Neidig). A study by Nedegaaard (1997) suggests that techniques directed at preventing or controlling angry outbursts are useful. However, abusive individuals also need to

learn how to behave when they are angry because abusive individuals perceive information differently when they are angry.

In the shelter adjunct programs or parallel treatment the batterer and battered are treated separately but the programs are coordinated. The research on their efficacy indicates that they reduce aggression over time (Caliber Associates, 1996d).

Future Research

In the eighties researchers doing work on domestic violence suggested that it was necessary to establish a baseline of domestic violence in the military. They felt that establishing a conceptual framework containing a consistent definition of domestic violence and obtaining accurate information across services based on that definition would provide an accurate baseline. In addition, they suggested that research should determine: what can be done to lower the incidence of abuse, evaluate programs addressing domestic violence, identify who is likely to respond to these programs, and determine what programs developed in the civilian population can be generalized to military populations (MacLennan, 1985; Neidig, 1986). Researchers in the nineties suggest that studies need to differentiate among the types of incidents, offenders and risks associated with domestic violence cases and specify which medical and court responses, and interventions are most appropriate for each type (Goldkamp et al., 1996a; Hamlin et al., 1991). Furthermore, studies examining domestic violence should compare a population matched for education within and outside the service, compare gender definitions of abuse, and self-reporting issues for males and females (Merrill, Hervig, Milner, & Newell, 1996).

Currently there are many studies underway evaluating responses and treatment programs for domestic violence (Caliber Associates, 1996d). The Air Force is evaluating batterers' groups versus couples' groups as well as H.O.M.E.S. (Home-based Opportunities Make Everyone Successful)—a demonstration of a multi disciplinary, home-based intervention targeting high-risk families to reduce maltreatment and strengthen family functioning. The Marine Corps is completing an evaluation of a coordinated community response. The Navy is evaluating three programs: comparisons of four interventions; assessing the interrelationships among personal history of family violence, family violence outcomes, and job performance and attrition; and new parent support programs. Campbell (1997) is examining the lifetime amount of physical, emotional and sexual intimate partner abuse of military and civilian women; women's perceptions of mandatory reporting of abuse and the impact on disclosure; and the medical sequelae and costs associated with abuse.

Studies examining the incidence of abuse have methodological problems. First and foremost are the problems of cross sectional and retrospective research. Violence occurs within a context and learning about that context is crucial in understanding, preventing and treating family violence. Qualitative studies of military families addressing family violence are needed to determine the environmental influence of specific incidents of violence. Furthermore, when examining the recurrence of violence in cross sectional studies one relies on the memory of the persons who have been abused; therefore longitudinal studies are important. Additionally, self-reports by a single person are always problematic because of the influence of the individual's perspective. Specifically addressing this issue are two studies that collected self-

report data from both spouses on violent acts (Bohannon, Dosser, & Lindley, 1995; Szinovacz, 1983). Low to moderate agreement in the dyad reports was found in both studies; therefore, future studies should obtain information on the violence from all persons involved.

With the completion of the studies currently underway and the research suggested above, a better understanding of domestic violence and the necessary prevention and treatment of it will be accomplished. But one question will still remain; how will the organizational changes underway in the military affect domestic violence? Considering the incidence of abuse and the documented factors associated with it, policies being considered within the Armed Forces are problematic. The closing of overseas installations where military members can have their families with them when they are deployed overseas and longer deployments of the military family member from the United States can increase stress and have a devastating effect on the family unit. The establishment of large installations within the United States could reduce the family's sense of community therefore increasing social isolation. The increase of active duty women in all services will increase the percentage of single parent families in the military and affect the power status in other military families. Therefore, an increase in domestic violence can be predicted with these proposed changes. To prevent and intervene in this increase in domestic violence the military must establish direct and indirect prevention programs at all installations and incorporate the best possible intervention programs.

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

Annotated Bibliography

Bohannon, J. R., Dosser, D. A., Jr., Holbert, D., & Lindley, S. (1993). *Predicting marital violence in military couples.* **Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the National Council on Family Relations, Baltimore, MD.**

The purpose of this study of 94 military couples was to explore factors related to marital violence. The voluntary sample approximated married personnel on base, with slightly more officers and NCO's than enlisted members.

The survey consisted of several standardized instruments. Along with demographic data, information was obtained about the stress of the military spouses' job, the frequency of attendance at religious services, ratings of their own and their spouse's health, job satisfaction, and number and length of deployments of the military spouse during the past year.

Results support the conjecture that obtaining data from the couple is more accurate than asking either the husband or wife separately. The significant factors predicting violence by the couple were husband's race, wife's report of family adaptability, number of children living with the couple, husband's and wife's education, and differences between husbands' and wives' scores on the marital satisfaction scale. Total couple violence decreased with increases in years married, greater family adaptability, more children living with the couples, higher education for husbands and wives, and fewer differences in scores on marital satisfaction. More violence was predicted between non-White couples. Wives' reports of violence were predicted by number of years married, wife's scores on family adaptability, number of children living with the couple, and husband's education. Husbands' reports of violence were predicted by husband's age and wife's education. Violence decreased with increases in husband's age, and wife's education. Caution must be taken when interpreting these results because factors found to be associated with violence in other studies (stress and deployment variables) were not included in the stepwise regressions.

Bohannon, J. R., Dosser, D. A., Jr., & Lindley, S. E. (1995). Using couple data to determine domestic violence rates: An attempt to replicate previous work. *Violence and Victims, 10*(2), 133-141.

Szinovacz (1983), examining violence in civilian couples, found higher rates when using information from both spouses than when using either the wife or husband individual reports. This study replicated Szinovacz's study with 94 military couples. The wives reported that violence occurred in 37% of the families and the husbands reported it in 46% of the cases. Using information from both husbands and wives, it was determined that 57% of the families reported violence. There was little agreement between the spouses on the occurrence of specific acts of violence in both studies. Higher rates of violence were found within the military (57%) sample than in the civilian sample (36%). The data suggests that although there is a cost factor, it is advisable to use reports from both spouses to obtain accurate information on violence within the family. Since both studies used small convenience samples, future research should examine both military and civilian families using a larger random sample.

Caliber Associates (1996a). *Final report on the study of spousal abuse in the Armed Forces: Executive Summary.* **Prepared for Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense. Fairfax, VA: Author.**

This summary examines the background and purpose of the study, gives an overview of the study's methodology, key findings, and the Department of Defense Family Advocacy Program. Most offenders are males (76%); 81% of offenders are on active duty and 19% are civilians married to active duty personnel. Active duty offenders are mostly male (91%) while most of the civilian offenders are female (89%). Thirty-three percent of the offenders are involved in mutual abuse. Forty-three percent of the active duty offenders were separated from the service within 3 years of the initial substantiated offense. Of those remaining in the service, 14% re-offended. Offenders are mostly at the lower ranks; 49% E1-E4, 40% E5-E6, 7% E7-E9, and 2.5% are officers. The average age of the offender and victim is 26. The proportion of female offenders increased from 18.9% in 1991 to 27.7% in 1995. Other key findings are addressed in the following abstracts.

Caliber Associates (1996b). *Final report on the study of spousal abuse in the Armed Forces: Analysis of spouse abuse incidence and recidivism rates and trends.* **Prepared for Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense. Fairfax, VA: Author.**

This is a comprehensive study examining spouse abuse in the service as well as in the civilian population. It was designed to: 1) respond to members of Congress on the frequency of spousal abuse involving members of the Armed Forces; 2) examine the causes of spousal abuse; 3) determine the procedures followed in responding to incidents of spousal abuse; 4) determine the effectiveness of the procedures; 5) review programs for curtailing such abuse; and 6) determine a strategy for the Armed Forces for curtailing spousal abuse involving members of the Armed Forces.

According to the authors, underreporting exists within the military, as well as in the civilian population. Disincentives to reporting spouse abuse in the civilian population are: fear of the consequences, embarrassment, beliefs (they can handle the problem, the problem is not serious, and that it's a personal matter), lack of information about whom they should tell or where they could go for help, and fear of being blamed. Military spouses also fear the active duty spouse's career would be in trouble, they would be punished by the military, they would be kicked out of the military, or that it would be unpleasant at work.

Caliber Associates (1996c). *A review of the literature on causes of and procedures and programs for responding to spouse abuse.* **Prepared for the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense. Fairfax, VA: Author.**

Key findings of the literature review support theoretical explanations for spouse abuse. They include empirically correlated at risk factors in individual, couples, and society domains. Although causal relationships are not determined, prevention programs are designed to provided services for these at-risk factors. Family Advocacy Programs (FAP) include workshops for coping with stress; emergency assistance; spouse support groups; in-home services; counseling; life-skills development; family life education and family planning; personal safety training; interpersonal relationship skills training services for special needs families; affordable and accessible day care; workshops in coping with stresses of military; and support for new parents. All programs, however, are not available at every installation, and evaluation of the programs are limited or non-existent.

The intervention programs for offenders were developed to increase awareness and accountability for actions; enhance ability to identify and manage the attitudes and emotions associated with violent behavior; decrease isolation and provide a supportive milieu for change; decrease hostile-dependent, unhealthy relations; and develop non-violent, constructive methods of conflict resolution. The four basic treatment programs are cognitive-behavioral and psycho-educational; criminal justice interventions; self-help; and individual and group therapy.

Victim interventions include medical/emergency room treatment, cognitive-behavioral and psycho-educational programs, crisis management, and individual and group therapy. Several military studies are currently examining the efficacy of programs. The Air Force is evaluating the following programs: homes, FAP treatment, and batterers' groups versus couples' groups. The Marine Corps is evaluating a coordinated community response. The Navy is evaluating intervention programs, assessing the interrelationships among personal history of family violence, examining family violence outcomes, and new parent support programs.

Caliber Associates (1996d). *Final report on the study of spousal abuse in the Armed Forces.* **Prepared for the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense. Fairfax, VA: Author.**

Findings on three of six key issues are discussed in this abstract: procedures followed in responding to incidents of such spousal abuse; analysis of the effectiveness of procedures; and strategies for curtailing spousal abuse. There are three phases in the response to reported spouse abuse: obtaining reports of the alleged incident; investigation and assessment of the alleged incident and its consequences; and providing services and or taking judicial action.

The four practice sites (defined by the authors as the best sites) are given as examples of the procedures. These include Fort Carson, Naval Station Mayport, Eglin Air Force Base, and Marine Corps Base Hawaii. Ninety-six cases at these installations were examined to determine the effectiveness of the programs.

When commanders of active duty offenders were asked to assess the treatment, they indicated that the treatment was successful and most were supportive of the treatment. The authors suggested that the FAP should maintain and strengthen existing policies, procedures and programs, and that the development of rigorous evaluation and tracking systems should lead to better resource allocations. They felt emphasis should be on prevention and early intervention and/or treatment strategies. Furthermore, they suggested that the reporting system needs to be strengthened; the awareness of spouse abuse should be heightened at all levels; there should be increased commitment of command leadership to prevention and treatment activities; and policies and programs to address current and emerging program needs should be developed. Additionally, since spouse abuse is such a multi-faceted problem, more than one theoretical model of its causes needs to be tested as part of any strategy to curtail it.

Campbell, J. C. (1997). *Identification of abuse and health consequences for military and civilian women* **(Annual Report). Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University.**

The purpose of this study is to determine the amount of physical, emotional and sexual intimate partner abuse (battering) of military and civilian women. Battering is defined as physical and/or sexual assault from an intimate partner within a context of coercive control.

Stated goals are to:
1) determine and compare the lifetime and annual prevalence of intimate partner abuse of active duty military women and civilian women,
2) investigate women's perceptions of mandatory reporting of abuse and the impact on disclosure, and
3) investigate the medical sequelae and costs of treatment associated with abuse over time.

Included in this first year report were the statement of work and the timeline of the study (completion in March of 2000). During the first year the researchers obtained IRB (Institutional Review Board) approvals, piloted the telephone survey protocol, computerized the questionnaire into the system, developed a training manual, and completed the first phase of data collection of HMO (civilian) enrollees (screening and in-depth interviews of the first 769 participants).

This report demonstrates the type of information being investigated and the amount of time required to complete studies with civilian and military personnel.

Cantos, A. L., Neidig, P. H., & O'Leary, K. D. (1994). Injuries of women and men in a treatment program for domestic violence. *Journal of Family Violence, 9*(2), 113-124.

This study assessed conflict tactics used and their consequences in a sample of men and women involved in a treatment program for interspousal violence at three military installations. Subjects (180 couples) were mandated to attend and all reported marital distress. Although both husbands and wives reported very similar aggressive behaviors, the women sustained more injuries, especially severe injuries. This clinical sample contrasted sharply with the low injury rates presented in non-clinical populations. The results support the idea that there may be qualitative differences between the types of aggression reported in community and treatment samples. Since treatable injuries are not only the results of the most severe levels of violence, any physical aggression should be considered potentially injurious. As well, the psychological affect of these conflicts reinforces the notion that physical aggression, regardless of the level of severity, should be considered problematic and toxic.

Davis, L. V. & Hagen, J. L. (1988). Services for battered women: The public policy response. *Social Service Review,* **62, 649-667.**

Federal policy has been framed by a generic view of family violence, resulting in an emphasis on enhanced family function and the use of the criminal justice system to punish and protect family members engaged in abusive violence. In contrast, New York State has recently returned to a policy perspective that recognized the unique features of wife abuse. This has led to developing social services that are responsive to the special needs of battered women. Although battered women require legal protection, a well-coordinated social service response that enables women to become self-sufficient and independent is at least equally important. Some, but certainly not all of the services women need include housing, supportive counseling, financial support, job training, employment, and childcare. Some development in providing these services has begun (e.g., emergency shelter for women and children), but the states' commitment to provide support for long-term service is unclear. If women are not to be forced to return to their batterers after their shelter stay, longer-term housing options and appropriate services must be made available.

Davis, L. V. & Hagen, J. L. (1992). The problem of wife abuse: The interrelationship of social policy and social work practice. *Social Work,* **37(1), 15-20.**

The purpose of this article is to discuss the interrelationship of policy and practice by providing information on wife battering. The authors warn that wife abuse is but one of a long list of social problems that society and the social work profession seek to address by developing programs to treat the victims, as opposed to the abusers. Many of the intervention models were developed to aid battered women who wanted to remain with their partners but wanted the violence to end. Most money allocations are for prevention and shelter related services. There is a failure on the part of policies that lead to allocations of money to assist battered women in becoming economically self-sufficient. The best predictor of a woman returning to her abuser is his participation in a treatment program, but there is evidence that many batterers drop out of treatment when their wives return, and their violent behavior changes little. It is suggested that society and the social work profession should recommit themselves to a model that focuses on the person-in-environment if they are to avoid the trend in blaming the victim.

Goldkamp, J. S., Weiland, D., Collins, M., & White, M. (1996a). *The role of drug and alcohol abuse in domestic violence and its treatment: Dade County's domestic violence court experiment* (Executive Summary). Philadelphia, PA: Crime and Justice Research Institute.

The purpose of this research was to address questions about the role of substance abuse in domestic violence (DV), the impact of the DV court approach, and the effect of a specially designed treatment approach which integrated batterer and substance abuse treatment into an innovative hybrid. A conservative estimate is that from 40-50% of defendants or respondents in DV cases used alcohol or other drugs at or near the time of the precipitating incident. Information needs in judicial disposition of DV cases were practical and principal oriented. Some practical conclusions identified are: difficulties in obtaining information and linking civil and criminal information sources; a lack of reliable measures of substance abuse involvement by the offender; poor information relating to petitioners and complaining witnesses; poor treatment program accountability; and poor data showing the impact of court interventions of the victim. The five principal information needs were: improving the quality of factual data relating to the case, promoting victim safety, determining other needs of the victim and/or family, determining appropriate options for the offender, and assessing the treatment needs, amenability and safety risk of the offender.

The treatment program evaluated, called DSORT (Dual Diagnosis Sentenced Offender Rehabilitation and Treatment), merged substance abuse and battering programs. Outcome measures found the program to be more effective in delivering treatment. Also, enforcing conditions of participation in treatment was more effective in the control group. Finally, keeping abusers in treatment was more successful. Findings suggest that an integrated treatment produced positive results in reaching and retaining the offenders.

Goldkamp, J. S., Weiland, D., Collins, M., & White, M. (1996b). *The role of drug and alcohol abuse in domestic violence and its treatment: Dade County's domestic violence court experiment* (Final Report). Philadelphia, PA: Crime and Justice Research Institute.

This report contains the executive highlights, the challenges posed by domestic violence for the courts, domestic violence cases in Dade County, judicial processing, treatment and public safety outcomes in a baseline period. It also discusses the integration of batterer and substance abuse treatment in Dade County's Domestic Violence Court, treatment outcomes, and success and reoffending information.

Goldkamp, J. S., Weiland, D., Collins, M., & White, M. (1996c). *The role of drug and alcohol abuse in domestic violence and its treatment: Dade County's domestic violence court experiment* (Appendices to Final Report). Philadelphia, PA: Crime and Justice Research Institute.

This appendix includes supplemental tables for the descriptive analysis of samples in the baseline and experimental studies of the Dade County Domestic Violence Court. Additionally it includes the data collection cards and coding information.

Graves, E. H. (1997). *Partner violence in the Air Force: Evaluating reporting behaviors and recidivism* (Report #97-139). Wright-Patterson AFB, OH: Air Force Institute of Technology.

The purpose of this study was to examine reporting behavior, intimate partner recidivism rates and unreported offender desistance rates in married Air Force couples living in the United States. Additionally, it looks at a selection of options targeted to create change in victim reporting rates and assesses the relative impact of changing this rate.

This study found similar incidence and recidivism rates to those reported in civilian and other military data. It attempted to go a step further in describing types of interventions that would increase reporting rates. It used material suggested in both military and civilian studies to address these issues, but one must keep in mind that the study is exploratory and that the data were collected from one branch of the service with a small response rate of 30%.

Hamlin, E. R., Donnewwerth, D., & Georgoulakis, J. M. (1991). A survey of Army medical department personnel beliefs about domestic violence. *Military Medicine, 156*(9), 474-479.

The purpose of this study was to get a better understanding of beliefs about domestic violence among military medical personnel and their influence on reporting and treatment. Subjects were chosen from three courses conducted at the Academy of Health Sciences. The Army domestic violence survey was completed. Subjects were predominately White, male, and between 22 and 41 years of age. More than half (57%) reported they had no experience with domestic violence. All participants believed the most common social problems were alcohol, child physical abuse, and spouse abuse (respectively). Approximately half of the respondents believed a batterer would be violent regardless of whom he or she married and that domestic violence is characterized by repeated incidents rather than isolated incidents. Subjects believe that the dominant factor in the cause of domestic violence is being raised in a violent family. While the majority of the respondents believed that domestic violence occurs across all income (54%) and educational levels (56%), there was a tendency to associate domestic violence with lower income (27%) and educational levels (29%). More than 75% of the respondents believed that domestic violence should be viewed as a crime if a victim required medical treatment or if there were repeated incidents where no medical treatment is necessary. However, only 50% felt that being vulgar and abusive in a way that destroys self-confidence and continuous humiliation and tormenting were crimes. The majority also believed that combining law enforcement and counseling is effective 50% of the time. When asked if they are required to report incidents of abuse, 25% said no or were not sure. About 25% did not know of Army programs or services to support the families of violent couples.

The authors stated that these findings indicate that a family advocacy curriculum should be incorporated in all medical specialty courses and that a more in-depth course could be developed for selected personnel. These courses should include prevention, identification, education, and intervention services.

Langhinrichsen-Rohling, J., Neidig, P., & Thorn, G. (1995). Violent marriages: Gender differences in levels of current violence and past abuse. *Journal of Family Violence, 10*(2), 159-176.

The purposes of the study were to assess current and past marital violence and childhood victimization experiences. The research also explores gender differences in the correlations between levels of current marital violence and witnessing parental violence and childhood victimization. Military couples (199) mandated for treatment in a domestic violence program participated in the study. Military police had referred 90% of the couples to treatment. All couples conjointly participated in a 90-minute semi-structured initial assessment and screening interview. Eighty-three percent of the couples reported engaging in mutual violence. Husbands were more likely than wives to inflict severe injury, were less likely to receive injury, and to report fear during violent episodes. Wives were more likely than husbands to blame themselves for the first incident of marital violence. There was no difference by gender in reports of witnessing parental aggression. However, wives were more likely than husbands to report being beaten as children and to perceive themselves as victims of abuse. Mothers as perpetrator predicted marital perpetration and perpetration from father best predicted marital victimization for all participants.

Future research should repeat the study with separate rather than conjoint interviews. It should explore the impact of parental behavior as a predictor of marital violence and victimization. Finally, more research is needed to explore factors related to women and blame in incidents of marital violence.

MacLennan, B. W. (1985). *Problems in estimating the nature and extent of family violence in the Armed Forces.* **Washington, DC: U.S. General Accounting Office.**

In 1983 the Senate required the services to develop a system for collecting data on family violence (US Senate Appropriations Committee, 1983). In 1983, the DOD developed a form and began collecting data from all services. Information was gathered on the following: type of maltreatment; number of cases carried over from last reporting period; number of cases established this reporting period; cases closed due to discharge from service; cases closed due to success; number of cases carried over to next reporting period; relationship of perpetrator to victim; pay grade of perpetrator; number of cases established during the reporting period with a past history of established abuse (of any type); and number of cases established this reporting period which were alcohol-related. Eight types of abuse were to be documented: physical and sexual abuse of child; neglect (or deprivation of necessities); emotional maltreatment of child; death of child; child abuse or neglect; spouse abuse; and death of a spouse.

Each service developed its own definitions of violence, types of data to be collected and department to collect the data. The information was then transferred to the DOD form. This had the effect of providing inconsistent data across services. There were problems in identifying which cases were suspected versus substantiated, and what constituted open, closed, or held over cases. Management of cases affected case status. Cases could be referred to civilian programs, to military medicine (CHAMPUS) or managed in-house. Cases that were referred out could be considered closed. Furthermore, terms such as success were not defined and the more clearly defined categories were sometimes grouped differently. Failure to report occurred at all levels: the family, friends, & command. Additionally, due to lack of sensitivity, instances of abuse often tend to be regarded as accidents, fractures, or falls. As a result of these inconsistencies in the data and failures to report cases, the magnitude of the problems of abuse in the military was not shown. Nevertheless, domestic violence is especially likely to be a problem in the military because many military families fall into the categories of having economic problems, stress, and substance abuse. In addition, military couples are often separated for long periods of time.

McCarroll, J. E., Ursano, R. J., Norwood, A. E., Fullerton, C. S., Newby, J. H., Dixon, S., Vance, K., & McFarlan, K. (1997). *Analyses of reports of spouse abuse from the U.S. Army central registry (1975-1995).* **Bethesda, MD: Uniformed Services University of the Health Sciences.**

The U.S. Army Central Registry (ACE) is a centralized, confidential database and source of training in the reporting of spouse abuse and child abuse and neglect cases. This executive summary discusses the distribution and findings of ACR initial substantiated cases, subsequent incidents and re-opened cases. An initial substantiated case is one that has been fully investigated and for which the preponderance of the available information indicates that abuse occurred. A subsequent incident is another substantiated incident of abuse occurring while the initial substantiated incident is still open. A re-opened case is another substantiated incident of abuse that occurs after the case has been closed.

The rate of spouse abuse per 1,000 married persons ranged between 8/1000 and 10.5/1000. Minor physical injury was the most frequently reported category of initial substantiated spouse abuse (93.8%), emotional maltreatment accounted for 8% of the cases and major physical injury for 3.1%. Twenty-three spouse fatalities were recorded. For offenders alcohol was involved in 24.1% of cases and 17.7% victims used alcohol. The victims received social services (90.5%), outpatient medical 24.1% and inpatient treatment 1.4%. Active duty Army members constituted 68% of the offenders and 40% of the victims were active duty Army. The rates of subsequent incidents increased from 1989 to 1995 while the rates of re-opened cases remained relatively steady. The percentage of female victims increased over the three types of cases from about 68% to about 77%. The percentage of cases of major physical injury increased from initial to subsequent and dropped for re-opened cases. The age distributions of the victims were consistent, with subsequent incident victims being slightly younger and the victims in re-opened cases being slightly older than victims of the initial substantiated incidents. Law enforcement referrals (the highest percent of referrals) increased over the three types of cases. Medical, dental, and command referrals showed a slight decrease. The racial distribution showed decreases in the number of White victims and offenders with the opposite trend among Black victims and offenders. The percentage of Hispanic victims was approximately the same, while the percentage of Hispanic offenders showed a slight decrease.

For initial substantiated cases, alcohol involvement was reported among a substantially higher percentage of offenders than victims. The major source of referrals for initial incidents was law enforcement. This increased for subsequent incidents and reopened cases. Medical and dental referrals were the second major source, with command referrals ranking third in frequency. Social services were the main treatment provided to spouse abuse victims.

Merrill, L. L. (1993). *Determining history of victimization and potential for abusive behavior in United States Navy recruits* (Final Report #93-28). San Diego, CA: Naval Health Research Center.

The purpose of this study was to determine if psychometrically valid instruments are available that would provide data to aid in creating abuse prevention and treatment programs. The specific goals for meeting this objective were to compile factors that have been associated with abusive behavior and to ascertain the reliability, validity, and appropriateness of relevant instruments. The authors reviewed the literature on domestic violence and examined Navy cases of substantiated abusive behavior in 1989. Six categories of models and theories emerged from this literature review. They ranged from single factor theories to multidimensional models with multiple interacting factors. One model suggests that high levels of hostile masculinity and sexual promiscuity result in sexual aggression against women; however, there is a scarcity of research on sexual aggression against women. Studies of abuse focus more on the history and potential for abuse than on victims, perpetrators and at-risk populations. The research typically regards women as victims rather than women as offenders. Commonalties between physical and sexual abusers were lower socioeconomic status, alcohol use, lower self-concepts, and role reversals. Assessment instruments that have an acceptable reliability, validity, and appropriateness for screening large groups include the Conflicts Tactics Scales, Sexual Experience Survey, Child Abuse Potential Inventory, Trauma Symptom Checklist (40 items), and the Michigan Alcoholism Screening Test.

The data on substantiated abuse indicated that 18.3/1000 cases of spouse abuse and 6.4/1000 cases of child abuse were recorded in 1989. Fewer substantiated incidents of spousal and child abuse were found in the Navy than in the civilian population. Perpetrators and victims were more often in the 18-24-age range. Perpetrators of spouse abuse were often abused as a child (13%) and had a previous record of abuse (20%). Adult males abused children more than adult females. Young male children were abused more than older male children. Among older children, females are more likely to be abused than males.

The author suggests that intervention programs at the recruit level would improve the operational efficiency of the services through the treatment of dysfunctional symptomatology because abuse and its sequelae have a detrimental effect upon work performance and retention.

Merrill, L. L., Hervig, L. K., & Milner, J. S. (1996). *Childhood parenting experiences, intimate partner conflict resolution, and risk for child physical abuse* (Unclassified Report 95-27). **San Diego, CA: Naval Health Research Center.**

This research tested the intergenerational model for predicting violence. Navy trainees (882 females and 663 males) volunteered to complete the survey that was administered as part of a more extensive survey package. Physical violence by a parent or stepparent was measured by one question. The Child Abuse Potential Inventory, a modified CTS parent-child version, the CTS intimate partner version, and the Michigan Alcoholism Screening Test were all part of this survey. Regression analyses indicated that receipt and infliction of physical violence predicted infliction and receipt of physical violence. A person who has been abused by an intimate partner in the past will more likely inflict abuse in the future than those who have not been abused. As well, a person who has abused an intimate partner is more likely than a person who has not, to be violated in the future. Additionally, a man or women who had been abused by a parent when a child is more likely to abuse his or her child(ren) than those persons not abused as a child. When women are abused during an intimate relationship, the potential for abuse of their child(ren) is heightened. Analyses also revealed that after the effects of violent experiences are removed, alcohol problems contribute significantly, albeit very modestly, to the prediction of intimate partner physical violence, injury by an intimate partner, and abuse of a child(ren) for both males and females. While the models predicting physical injury found the predictor of injury by an intimate partner to be the receipt of physical violence, it accounted for only a small amount of the variance. This suggests that physical injury results from other factors as well.

Limitations of the study include: using self reports with no independent confirmation, not assessing the parenting styles of mothers and fathers separately, asking only one question on observation of spouse violence, and using an instrument that measures lifetime alcohol use (MAST) instead of an instrument to measure alcohol use during the time of the abuse.

Merrill, L. L., Hervig, L. K., Milner, J. S., & Newell, C. E. (1996). *Premilitary intimate partner conflict resolution in a U.S. Navy basic trainee sample* **(Unclassified Report 96-6). San Diego, CA: Naval Health Research Center.**

The purposes of this study were to examine the rates of verbal and physical violence (inflicted and received) reported by male and female Navy trainees and to compare these rates with non-military samples. Most Navy trainees (79.1%) volunteered to complete the questionnaire (92.5% male and 89.9% female). The "I did" and "Did to me" forms of the Conflict Tactics Scale, Intimate Partner version were used. Additionally, immediately following the CTS, a question was asked about intimate partner injury. Half of the respondents reported receiving, inflicting or receiving and inflicting physical violence. More male trainees (46.9%) experienced at least one incident of physical violence than females (31.9%), and more females had higher physical violence scores. This indicated that the women used physical violence at a higher rate than the men. More of the less educated women than the higher educated women reported inflicting physical violence. More Black and Hispanic men reported inflicting and receiving physical violence than other racial groups of men. Rates of intimate partner violence received by women varied significantly by family income and educational level. As educational levels of women and men increased, rates of violence inflicted on them decreased. A higher percent of women (24.9%) reported physical injury by an intimate partner than men (9%), thus suggesting the consequences of intimate partner physical violence are more serious for women. Those reporting physical injury used higher levels of verbal aggression and physical violence and their intimate partners did as well. These Navy trainees (50%) reported more intimate partner violence than groups of college students (31.9%).

The data from this study suggest that the newer multi-variant theories may best describe intimate partner abuse. The rate of abuse by education level supports resource theories. The need for early intervention for both males and females is essential. A comprehensive educational program on intimate partner violence for Navy recruits is also necessary. Issues for future research include: comparing a population within and outside the service which is matched for education, comparing gender definitions of abuse, and investigating self reporting issues for males and females.

The findings of this study should be interpreted with caution for several reasons. Self-reports may underestimate violence rates. The reports described lifetime experiences; thus, it is unknown who inflicted the injury. The physical injury group could have included non-accidental as well as accidental injury by an intimate partner. Finally, while 12.8% of the women and 4.1% of the men reported that neither they nor their partners used any form of physical violence, they still reported physical injury by an intimate partner.

Merrill, L. L., Newell, C. E., Gold, S. R., & Milner, J. S. (1997). *Childhood abuse and sexual revictimization in a female Navy recruit sample* (Interim Report 97-5). San Diego, CA: Naval Health Research Center.

The purpose of this study was to obtain data that supports the theory that a relationship exists between child sexual abuse and adult revictimization. The sample included 1,140 Navy female recruits with histories of either child abuse and/or current adult abuse. Overall, 57.3% of recruits reported childhood abuse (40% physical abuse and 39.8% sexual abuse). Women with a childhood history of sexual abuse were 4.7 times more likely to have been raped than were women with no history of sexual abuse. Women who had a history of physical and sexual abuse reported the highest rates of rape. Regression analyses on data from all participants indicated that a history of childhood sexual abuse was the best predictor of subsequent revictimization. Number of sex partners and alcohol problems made modest contributions for White participants, but not for Black or Hispanic subjects. All ethnic groups were found to have a high risk of revictimization; however White female recruits were 4 times more likely, Black females recruits were 5.85 times more likely, and Hispanic female recruits 9.41 times more likely to report having been raped if they had been sexually abused in childhood.

Miller, T. W. & Veltkamp, L. J. (1993). Family violence: Clinical indicators among military and post-military personnel. *Military Medicine, 158*(12), 766-771.

This study using family systems theory examined the literature on child and spouse abuse among military and post-military personnel to determine criteria used for identifying at-risk personnel and for diagnosis and treatment of family violence. A multigenerational pattern of abuse before military service and exposure to violence within the military are two factors identified in families where violence occurs.

Characteristics of the abusing family include the following:
- one parent who is remarkably passive, dependent and reluctant to assert self for fear of breaking up the family unit;
- communication and poor interpersonal relationships are two problems within the marital relationship;
- the perpetrator turns to the family to relieve and displace emotional tension and stress;
- the victim feels emotionally deprived and turns to the perpetrator for support and emotional nuturance;
- boundaries are unclear between perpetrator and victim;
- the family is isolated from social contact;
- the parents have inadequate coping skills under stressful conditions; and
- problems within the family become secrets; consequently change and intervention do not occur.

Physicians have a key role in identifying family violence. Their experience in detecting physical and behavioral indicators of potential abuse can lead to the families getting essential medical and psychiatric care. A list of physical and behavioral indicators of family violence, sexual abuse, and neglect is included as well as a list of community resources available to health care professionals. The authors indicate that prevention and intervention programs should be available to all systems within the family.

Nedegaaard, R. C. (1997). *Deciding to be violent: The perceived utility of abusive behavior in marriage* (Report #97-039D). Wright-Patterson AFB, OH: Air Force Institute of Technology.

A social skills model hypothesizes that abusive behavior is the result of a deficit in social skills for resolving marital conflict. This study developed a model to study the aspects of the decision making process which are important to individuals and compares the usefulness of the abusive behaviors that programs are designed to extinguish with healthy behaviors. The subjects were 32 maritally distressed abusive men (engaged in some form of physically abusive behavior toward their spouse within the previous three months), 32 maritally distressed nonviolent men, and 32 non-distressed, nonviolent men who had been married a minimum of one year. Six active duty licensed clinical social workers or psychologists interviewed the participants and administered questionnaires. Anger was the most significantly distinguishing characteristic between the groups. There was more abusive behavior among angry men with a need to be in control. Furthermore, the angry abusive men expected abusive and manipulative behaviors would fix problems and minimally affect their partner's self-image. Angry abusive men did not perceive verbal abuse and threatening to be harmful to their partner's self image. While the angry men used healthy behaviors as a way to solve problems, they reported healthy behaviors were less useful. There was evidence that angry abusive men's perceptions of the utility of healthy behaviors decreased when the abusers were angered. Since maritally distressed subjects' (abusive and non-abusive) decision making patterns are similar to the non-distressed non-abusive group, the results of the study cannot be attributed to marital discord. This study suggests that techniques directed at preventing or controlling angry outbursts are useful, however abusive individuals need to learn how to behave when they are angry. Techniques for managing conflict when angry are important because abusive individuals perceive information differently when they are angry. The author suggests that couples groups may be a useful technique for working with domestic violence.

Neidig, P. H. (1985). Domestic violence in the military: Research findings and program implications. *Military Family, 5*(3), 3-7.

Two hundred seventy-three drill instructors in the Marine Corps completed surveys (Life Events Scale, Self-Test for Type A Personality and Dyadic Adjustment Scale). They were also interviewed with their wives to explore the causes and correlates of spousal abuse. The purpose was to determine factors related to domestic violence and to develop a conceptual model of military family violence with implications for developing prevention and rehabilitation programs. The author determined that stress and the degree of functioning of the marital relationship are distinguishing characteristics for abusive situations. High stress for both males and females was related to violent episodes, whereas having resources and coping skills were related to lower incidences of violence. Both husband and wives reported comparable violence, but in cases of serious injury, the wife is more likely to be harmed. Violence and marital dissatisfaction increased with time on the job. The stress symptoms displayed by the drill instructors were irritability, physical exhaustion, sense of time urgency, and free floating anger. They became increasingly critical of their spouse and other family members as demands of work increased. Dissatisfaction with work often resulted in changes at home because it's easier to change things at home than at work. While the husbands believed they had not changed, their wives discussed negative changes in their husbands such as impatience, distancing, being overly demanding, and treating family members as recruits. The author argues that violence in the service is different from that in the civilian population. In the civilian community violence is related to goals (instrumental violence) such as employment and prosperity, whereas in the military violence is defined as expressive (primarily an expression of emotion).

Neidig, P. H. (1986). The development and evaluation of a spouse abuse treatment program in a military setting. *Evaluation and Program Planning,* *9,* 275-280.

The author developed a spouse abuse treatment program for the military based on the literature on abuse. Factors that differentiate abusive from non-abusive service members are self-esteem, stress, marital functioning, and locus of control. The author also determined from a study of violent and non-violent couples that the violence was often mutual and reciprocal, and the violence typically occurred in the context of marital strife and an escalating conflict. The violent couples scored higher than non-violent couples on measures of stress and marital dysfunction, and were more external in locus of control. Therefore a treatment program for both husband and wife (when they wanted to stay together) was developed. The treatment program included: content on relationship skills (communication and conflict containment); content on responsibility and self-control; material on stress management and anger control; and content that addressed work-related stresses and their impact on the family. The program goal was the cessation of violence between spouses. To determine if additional episodes of violence occurred, the researchers examined military police reports of domestic violence on a daily basis and contacted both spouses by phone at 6-month intervals. Additionally, two instruments were used as pre and post-tests: the Locus of Control Scale and the Dyadic Adjustment Scale. Most couples were able to suppress violent behavior for the 10 weeks of the program. The majority of couples contacted by telephone stated there were no additional violence episodes since completion of the program (those leaving the service were not contacted). Both husbands and wives made significant improvement on the consensus and cohesion sub-scales of the DAS and the locus of control. Measures of program progress included: attendance, compliance in class and homework assignments, episodes of violence, and the level of personal responsibility demonstrated. The participants also evaluated the program and their own progress. These reports are given to the commanding officers. The content and reaction to the program were measured on a 6-point scale (6 most positive). For all measures the mean scores were above 5. The most effective predictors of subsequent episodes of violence are those based on observations of the subjects' progress and participation over the 10 weeks of the program.

Rosen, H. H., Sheposh, J. P., Shettel-Dutcher, J., Barnes, A. S., Ralston, J. M., & Talley, S. (1997). *Violence prevention and control programs in the Navy: A review of programs, program effectiveness, and factors affecting program success.* San Diego, CA: Navy Personnel Research and Development Center.

The purposes of this study were: to identify and categorize violence control and prevention programs in the Navy; to identify measurements used to assess effectiveness of programs; and to identify organizational and attendant conditions which facilitate or inhibit attempts to reduce or eliminate violence. Personnel targeted for data collection at 28 commands completed structured interviews. The targeted personnel were security officers, crime prevention coordinators, family housing directors, and family service center directors. Three categories of programs were found: policing and primary deterrence, brief training and workshops, and services to victims and/or perpetrators after violence had occurred. Programs varied from installation to installation. Impediments to programs were insufficient funding, need for training, the Navy's lack of commitment and support, and staffing problems. The authors concluded that existing statistics and measures of violence are flawed. The reorganization and downsizing of the military limited their efficiency and ability to perform their jobs. They also observed that there was less than full support and awareness by the Navy's leadership, and that more research initiatives for evaluation of programs are needed.

U.S. Department of Justice (1994, November). *Violence between intimates: Domestic violence* (NCJ 149259). Bureau of Justice Statistics. Washington DC: Author.

Summary of statistics from The National Crime Victimization Survey (non-murder), FBI Supplemental Homicide report and Bureau of Justice report (murders), Law Enforcement Management and Administrative Statistics, a 1989 survey of intimates in local jails, and a 1991 survey of inmates in state correctional facilities.

Zuger, A. (1998, July 28). A fistful of hostility is found in women. *The New York Times* **[On-line]. Available: http://archives.nytimes.com**

The author discusses a study by John Archer that was reported at a meeting of the International Society for Research on Aggression, as well as related research. Dr. Archer collected data from men and women in Canada, Great Britain, the United States and New Zealand. He found that women who argued with their dates or mates were slightly more likely than men to use some form of physical violence, ranging from slapping, kicking and biting, to choking or using a weapon. However, most instances of serious violence were committed by men as were most injuries that required medical care. These findings, according to Dr. Anne Campbell, a psychologist at the University of Durham in Great Britain, give support to an emerging theory that women under environmental stresses respond with physically aggressive behaviors similar to men, although with less intensity. The author links aggression in adulthood to aggression in children, stating that if indirect aggression (badmouthing, gossip and smears campaigns) is taken into account, the number of children using aggression is similar across gender. Aggression in adults was also connected to watching violence on television. Dr. L. Rowell Huesmann at the University of Michigan found in his longitudinal study that the more violent television a child watched at ages 6 through 8, the more aggressive behavior that child displayed, regardless of gender. Fifteen years later, the television viewing habits of childhood and adult behavior patterns persisted. The more television violence the child watched, the more aggressive the man or women became.

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Chapter 12

FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT DIFFICULTIES

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Introduction

A review of the research related to financial management issues indicates that service members have encountered financial difficulties for decades. This chapter focuses on the following topics:
- Extent of Financial Crisis
- Reasons for Financial Crisis
- Impact of Financial Crisis
- Importance of Education and Counseling

Extent of Financial Crisis

The research indicates that the magnitude of the financial crisis has stayed the same and perhaps even increased in the nineties as compared to the eighties. An exact comparison of the situation during the two time frames is not possible because researchers have used different measures for calculating the extent of financial difficulties faced by the service members. Examples of indicators used in the eighties include the number of clients seeking assistance at Navy Relief Society Centers and amount of interest free loans taken. In the nineties, the measures were the number of bad checks issued, the number of letters of indebtedness, wage garnishments issued and the number of bankruptcies filed (Bronars, 1983; Fitzsimmons, 1980; Jowers, 1995).

> Editor's Note: Financial difficulties that affect many service members and their families have become an increasing concern to the military. Among the topics included in this volume, however, financial difficulties of military members has been studied the least. This is evident in the kinds of published material available for this chapter. For a path-breaking research effort in the area of financial difficulties, the reader is referred to a work recently completed by Dr. Luther and associates (Luther et al., 1997).

It is evident from the research that the financial crisis faced by the service members is not limited to one or two services but is prevalent across all services and at all levels. Although the highest percentage of members facing financial crisis belonged to E3, E4 and E5 ranks, it is not uncommon to find higher level enlisted members and officers experiencing the same problems.

Reasons for Financial Crisis

Researchers also investigated whether the financial crisis among the service member families was due to financial mismanagement or lack of money. They found several types of explanations for financial crisis. These include easy and excessive credit, ease of bankruptcy filing, many "roping in" schemes existing around installations, and a societal "I want it now" attitude (Maze, 1995; Luckett, 1988). Although the majority of the research emphasizes financial mismanagement or lack of financial knowledge as the reasons for financial crisis among military families, some researchers question this notion. Factors other than high debt to income ratio that may contribute to financial crisis in the family include a larger number of children, divorce or separation, loss of spousal job, or lower income level.

Fitzsimmons (1980) used eligibility for food stamps as an indicator to measure lack of money and the results indicated that 50-60% of the members counseled for financial crisis were eligible for food stamps. This suggested that the financial crisis may not necessarily be due to lack of management skills but due to lack of adequate income. Food stamp usage was also noticeable in the nineties among service members with families at the E3 - E5 ranks, indicating that the money situation may not have improved much for these service members. A survey of family finances during the period 1984 to 1994 found that the debt problems were higher and had gone up during a five-year period for families with lower levels of income (Kennickell & Starr-McCluer, 1997).

Impact of Financial Crisis

Financial crisis in a family can lead to a high level of stress. It has been suggested that pilot error in aircraft mishaps may have been caused by heavy stress and inadequate management of the same; financial crisis in families may be one of these heavy stress factors (Alkov, & Borowsky 1980; Alkov, Gaynor, & Borowsky, 1985). Lloyd (1997) points out that financial crisis contributes to a high level of stress and becomes a risk factor for child neglect, spousal abuse, and violent actions. According to Luther, Garman, Leech, Griffitt, and Gilroy (1997) in a study encompassing only the Navy, financial crisis produces stress that causes lower productivity at work, reduces operational readiness and results in a loss of millions of dollars for the Navy.

Importance of Education and Counseling

Various researchers have emphasized the importance of financial education to alleviate the financial problems of military families. Publications such as the *Army Times* and the *Navy Times* frequently carry articles designed to teach service members some of the fundamental methods of money management. They also provide advice to help service members to avoid falling into traps that can lead to a spiraling effect on their family finances. Bronars (1983) pointed out that there is a crucial need for

financial training as an integral part of service training. This author argued that service members of all ranks, including officers, need financial management training. He also recommended that different modules of training be implemented for service members at different levels. Rubino (1995) found that financial education makes service members more knowledgeable about managing their money and makes them aware of the pitfalls.

Research in the area of financial counseling emphasizes the need for financial counseling in the military, and explores ways to make counseling more effective. Mortenson (1985) examined the effectiveness of the U.S. Army's policy and system of providing counseling assistance to soldiers who have personal problems. He found that soldiers believe that seeking counseling can have a negative bearing on one's career. He suggested that more training time should be devoted to counseling techniques, how to best use counselor time, and training in stress management. The counselors need to understand that they should make themselves a lot more accessible in order for the service members to approach them without hesitation. As Mortenson indicates, young inexperienced officers and untrained corporals cannot make good counselors, and may actually perpetuate this problem. All soldiers should go through a financial training class. Young and new recruits are not the only ones who face financial problems: many officers also experience these problems. The Armed Forces need to reassure military members that they will actually reward open communication and early action to handle this problem (Mortenson).

Jowers (1997b) reports on the spread of the implementation of a model that provides the services of command financial specialists at various bases in the Army as well as in the Air Force. The model is very similar to the one implemented in the Navy where one Command Financial Specialist (CFS) is provided for every twenty-five military members. All military members are made aware of the accessibility of a CFS in the event financial difficulties are encountered. If the specialist feels that the problem is more complicated and may be habitual, then a recommendation may be made for counseling through the Family Service Center. Although there has been no research to explore the issue, it is possible that military members do not feel intimidated by the CFSs. However, if they are recommended to meet with a counselor at the Family Services Center, the stigma still exists.

Research Gaps

Most of the research on financial management is based on secondary data and not much primary data related directly to these issues has been collected. Various measures have been used to estimate the level of financial crisis and its impact on the military, however there is no research validating these indicators. The reasons for this financial crisis may be either financial mismanagement by service members or just lack of money. Further research is needed to estimate what extent of this problem is due to financial mismanagement because that is the only share that can be alleviated by training and counseling. Although research has established that service members face financial crisis as measured by invalidated indicators, and that training is needed, there is no longitudinal study investigating the impact of training on financial practices of these service members.

Annotated Bibliography

Alkov R. A. & Borowsky, M. S. (1980, September). A questionnaire study of psychological background factors in U.S. Navy aircraft accidents. *Aviation, Space, and Environmental Medicine,* **860-863.**

This study consisted of a 22-item questionnaire survey administered to a sample of 248 Navy air crew members who were involved in 150 accidents. The Fisher Irwin exact test was used in the data analysis to identify factors that may have a critical impact on the possibility of a mishap. None of the significant factors were directly identified as financial management difficulty; however, significant factors were related to stress and handling of stress. The study concluded that service members who were high risk takers or those who could not handle a stressful situation such as a major upheaval in the family, a big decision about the future, etc. are more likely to be involved in accidents.

Alkov, R. A., Gaynor, J. A., & Borowsky, M. S. (1985, March). Pilot error as a symptom of inadequate stress coping. *Aviation, Space, and Environmental Medicine, 56(3),* **244-247.**

This study was based on a survey of 737 aviators. Of these aviators, 381 belonged to the aviator error group and 356 belonged to the group that had no contributing role in their mishaps. The survey revealed that the inability to cope with stress factors may result in pilot error. The survey also indicated that aviators who have played a contributory role in their mishaps are more likely to have problems in areas such as finances, interpersonal relationships, or alcohol consumption.

Bronars, E. J. (1983, May 19). *The necessity of personal financial management programs for military personnel.* **Paper presented at the 1983 Regional Conference for Military Financial Educators and Counselors, Norfolk, VA.**

The growing problem of financial hardship among military personnel due to mismanagement of funds provided the impetus for this conference. Navy Relief Society data were used. Financial grants and interest-free loans to sailors and marines totaled $5.2 million in 1978 to $16.4 million in 1982: a 315% increase. Clients seeking assistance numbered 101,000 in 1981; 122,000 in 1982; and in the first quarter of 1983 there was another 35% increase over the same period. Suggestions were made to structure and implement financial management education programs as an integral part of service training programs. Separate programs should exist for junior pay grades and officers. The junior pay grade training should be simple, detailed, and should focus on fundamentals. The program should emphasize ideals such as living within one's means, the risks of overextending one's credit, instructions for using a checking account, and encouragement for establishing and adding to a savings account. Officer training should emphasize that officers are responsible for the financial management welfare of their troops. Officers need to be trained in methods of training, counseling, and advising their personnel on financial matters. Appropriate training materials should also be developed to correspond with the suggestions.

Croan, G. M., Katz, R., Fischer, N., Smith-Osborne A., & Dutton, L. (1980). *Roadmap for Navy family research* **(Report #FR1). Columbia, MD: Westinghouse Public Applied Systems Division.**

The purpose of this paper was to identify and plan research efforts critical to family issues. It also seeks to provide for long range guidance in undertaking these research efforts. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 96 individuals from 6 participant groups to identify research needs. An extensive literature review was also conducted.

The impact of financial problems and perceived access to financial counseling were discussed in one section of this paper. Several areas of financial aspects were suggested as research topics.

Directorate of Compensation (1996, January). *Food stamp usage in the military: Report to Congress* (Directed in the Conference Report accompanying the FY95 Defense Appropriations Act). Washington, DC: Directorate of Compensation, Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense, Force Management Policy (Military Personnel Policy).

This is a 1996 report to Congress on the use of food stamps in the military during Operation Desert Storm. Data about food stamp recipients were collected from the USDA for five states and then extrapolated for the entire population. The results show that approximately 0.8% of the members receive food stamps. The largest percentage of the recipients was from E3, E4 and E5 levels. Since the study occurred during Operation Desert Storm, the numbers could have been higher due to the financial difficulties faced by the families while the service members were deployed. This study also estimates the cost of eliminating the use of food stamps either by increasing the pay or by providing a food allowance.

Fitzsimmons, P. (1980, May 11). Financial crisis belts military families. *Times-Herald,* **p. 3.**

Military personnel and dependents come into Navy Relief in need of basics such as food and shelter. Steinberger states that it is not due to lack of financial management, rather, it is lack of money to manage. The problem is particularly prevalent among the enlisted personnel in grades E4 and under with a family. Of the ones counseled, 50-60% are eligible for Food Stamps. The people feel they are working well at a demanding job but cannot support their own family without help. The people interviewed felt that military pay should increase to better support the military families.

Fuentes, G. (1996, March 4). Taking care of business: How to protect yourself and your checkbook while you're deployed. *Navy Times* **[On-line]. Available: http:www.mco.com/mem/archives/navy/1996/nt03 04qz.htm**

This article cites various individuals but mentioned no detailed survey. It is an educational article for the marines regarding financial management. The author explains various methods that service members may use to manage finances when deployed in order to avoid financial troubles for themselves or the family. The article traces these methods for the service members through their life cycle. It provides reference to the fact that legal action against the service members is not easy when members are deployed. Its emphasis is on the concept that legal problems due to financial difficulties can be avoided easily.

General Accounting Office (1996). *Military readiness, data and trends for Jan 1990 - Mar 1995.* **Washington DC: Author.**

This study examines the percentage of military units, DOD wide, with the ability to undertake all or major portions of assigned missions. A total of ninety four units were reviewed. Readiness remained at levels consistent with goals in 75-80% of the units. However, readiness declined in 20% of the units. Although no research has been done, this reduction in readiness could have been partly caused by the personal financial management difficulties faced by the service members and the resulting increase in stress levels.

General Accounting Office (1997). *Financial management: Profile of Air Force financial managers.* **Washington, DC: Author.**

This GAO report profiles financial managers.

Findings include:

- One hundred seventeen (117) military officers are comptrollers and budget officers. Fifty-six civilian personnel serve in a similar capacity. Both officers and civilians hold bachelor (or the equivalent) degrees.

- Ninety-nine (99) officers and 30 civilians hold advanced degrees. Approximately two-thirds of the degrees are business related. The officer's careers ranged from 3 to 38 years with an average of 18 years. The civilian careers ranged from 12 to 44 years, averaging 27 years.

- Of these financial managers, 86 officers and 45 civilians reported receiving training in 1995 and 1996. Approximately 20% of the respondents hold one or more financial management related certificates.

Jowers, K. (1995, November 13). Counseling is an urgent need: Low pay or not, young troops must be taught about money, panel says. *Air Force Times* [On-line]. Available: http://www.mco.com/mem/archives/airforce/1995/af1113ji.htm

This is a synopsis of the report by the Pentagon's Quality of Life Task Force. It emphasizes the need for financial management training and counseling. Also cited are the same figures found in many other reports regarding the number of bad checks, the most common counseling issues, the high rates of bankruptcy filing, and so forth. They state that the training modules in the Air Force try to follow a life cycle model to change the content at various life stages of the members.

Jowers, K. (1997a, January 6). Families to get more help managing money. *Navy Times* [On-line]. Available: http://www.mco.com/mem/archives/navy/1997/nt0106os.htm

This is a newspaper article citing comments from various members of a financial management task force and members from the staff of the Joint Chiefs. They recognize that service members do need financial management help and discuss the new computer based financial management training being made available in the near future by the Navy. They also mention the Navy's attempt to look closely at the qualifications of the financial management program managers who conduct training at family centers.

Jowers, K. (1997b). Getting back on financial track: Fort Hood helps soldiers solve troubles, manage money. *Army Times* [On-line]. Available: http://www.mco.com/mem/archives/army/1997/at0901k1.htm

The implementation of a model that provides Command Financial Specialists (CFS) at various bases is reported. Lt. Gen. Schwartz is highlighted as the pioneer in this movement. The model is similar to the Navy's, which consists of a CFS for every twenty-five military members. The model seems to work as more and more military members are consulting the CFSs.

Jowers, K. (1997c). Growing bankruptcy rate is causing concern. *Air Force Times* **[On-line]. Available: http://www.mco.com/mem/archives/airforce/ 1997/af0210m8.htm**

This is a newspaper article citing various individual sources. It consists of data reported by individual departments, but does not mention any surveys or other research. It points out the tremendous increase in the number of bankruptcy filings by service members. The trend is prevalent in all three services. It does not appear to be restricted to younger members who earn less pay, but also involves many officers. There is disagreement as to whether military members file for bankruptcy in order to avoid letting the service know of their financial troubles, or if they try to avoid filing for bankruptcy due to the fear that their security clearance may be revoked if the military becomes aware of their financial problems. Excessive credit availability is blamed for bankruptcy filing.

Kennickell, A. B. & Starr-McCluer, M. (1997, January). Family finances in the U.S.: Recent evidence from the survey of consumer finances. *Federal Reserve Bulletin, 83,* **24.**

A civilian discussion of family finances indicates that the family income rose between 1992 and 1995. The portfolio of financial assets of families during this time has changed: it consists of a heavier percentage of stocks. Debt problems have not worsened during that period, although the number of families with credit cards and the number of families carrying a balance on credit cards have increased. Debt problems have increased for families with incomes less than $100,000 and have decreased for families with incomes greater than $100,000.

Lloyd, D. (1997, December 15). *Impact of irresponsible financial management.* **Paper presented at the Military Summit on Personal Financial Management, San Diego, CA.**

Lloyd discusses how poor financial management contributes to the high level of stress. This, in turn, becomes a risk factor for child neglect, spousal abuse, and violent actions. Ranks E1 to E3 have a 23% rate of spouse abusers while E4 to E6 have a 69% rate of spouse abusers. Of the spouses who are abused, 52% do not work.

Luckett, C. A. (1988, September). Personal bankruptcies. *Federal Reserve Bulletin, 53*(182), 36431-36556.

This bulletin is a synopsis of the personal bankruptcy situation from 1945 through 1987. It also provides details on the reasons identified for filing of bankruptcy. No primary data was collected, but it includes a secondary review of studies done to that date. Factors that contribute to a personal bankruptcy filing include high debt to income ratio, lower income level, number of children, loss of job, and divorce or separation. Advertising and enticement by lawyers about the ease and advantages of bankruptcy filing is discussed. The study also speculates that there may be a cut off point in debt levels after which the relationship between bankruptcy filing and debt level does not matter.

Luther, R. K., Garman, E. T., Leech, I. E., Griffitt, L., & Gilroy, T. (1997). *Scope and impact of personal financial management difficulties of service members on the department of the Navy* **(MFI Tech. Rep. 97-1). Scranton, PA: Military Family Institute, Marywood University.**

The purpose of this research was to ascertain the scope and impact of personal financial management difficulties among Navy service members. The study also examined the existing Personal Financial Management Program and offered recommendations for improvement in training. The authors reviewed existing civilian and military information in order to collate available data, estimate costs and develop parameters for a baseline longitudinal study.

The findings indicate significant costs to the Navy of financial management difficulties among their personnel. The authors estimate that between 10 and 15 percent of service members are experiencing financial problems, with a cost in lost productivity between $172 million and $258 million annually. Indicators of financial management difficulties include: Letters of Indebtedness (over 123,330 per year); bad checks written on the Navy Exchange System (averaging nearly 99,000 per year) and bad checks received at the Commissaries (75,000 per year); wage garnishment of Navy service members (35,000 in 1995); 43 percent of active duty personnel report difficulty paying their monthly bills; filings for bankruptcy where the Navy was the creditor (4,3000 in 1996); 60 percent of security clearances revoked involved financial reasons; direct aid to financial assistance cases ($48 million to an average of 91,000 between 1993 and 1995). The findings also show that between 33 and 63 percent of service members are dissatisfied with various financial quality of life issues. Financial difficulties have more impact on operational readiness than housing, child care, health care, or partner's job.

The report also includes multiple recommendations for improving Personal Financial Management Programs. These stress preventive measures, especially more training for personnel, counselors, and command staff. The authors also suggest that a longitudinal study be implemented to collect primary data to evaluate the Personal Financial Management Program, compare financial situations of service members before and after training, and assess the degree of personal financial problems of service members at different stages of the career cycle.

Main, G. A. (1986). *The DON evaluation and control process for financial management systems.* **Master's thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, CA.**

The purpose of the study is to review the policies and procedures that Department of Navy (DON) executive departments must follow in the development, operation, evaluation, and reporting of DON financial management systems. It also seeks to provide DON financial managers with an appreciation and awareness of the importance of this process.

Matheny, P. D. (1993). *Resource consequences of altering the delinquent debt threshold used in background investigations for security clearances.* **Master's thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, CA.**

This paper examines the implications of raising the delinquent debt credit threshold from $500 to $2000. Research indicates a reduction in the numbers of sole financial and multiple financial issue cases as a percentage of the total number of issue cases. As a result of this change, the time required to complete a security investigation has increased.

Maze, R. (1995, January 30). Easy money: Getting credit is a snap; Getting out of debt isn't. *Air Force Times* **[On-line]. Available: http://www.mco.com/mem/archives/airforce/1995/af0130k9.htm**

This article cites various individual sources. The data is reported by individual departments and mentions no survey or research data. It discusses the reasons for financial troubles of military members including easy credit, "roping in" schemes on bases, and the "I want it now" attitude. The article provides examples of the various scams that occur on military bases within the States.

Mellon, J. J. (1990). *Marine Corps financial management officer training in the 1990s.* **Master's thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, CA.**

This thesis evaluates the adequacy of the current training programs provided to Marine Corps financial officers with the primary Military Occupational Speciality (MOS) 3404.

Research findings include:
- Financial officers will need to be versatile to deal with the changing financial systems in the nineties.
- The Marine Corps Practical Comptrollership Course should be targeted at officers with approximately three years experience and an advanced course should be developed.
- More intra-MOS training should be encouraged.

Morris, S., McDaniel, M., Worst, G., & Timm, H. (1993). *Vanity-motivated overspending: Personnel screening for positions of trust* **(Report #93-05469). McLean, VA: Defense Personnel Security Research Center.**

This study explores the relationship between financial responsibility and screening of applicants for positions in which integrity is key. It also looks at the relationship between vanity and poor spending habits.

Mortenson, R. H. (1985). *Counseling in the Army.* **Master's thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, CA.**

This thesis examines the effectiveness of the U.S. Army's policy and system of providing counseling assistance to the soldier who has a personal problem. The hypothesis of the research is that the U.S. Army can and should improve the counseling received by troubled soldiers.

The author concludes:
- Soldiers feel fairly free to access counseling, but a stigma still exists that seeking counsel can have a negative bearing on one's career.
- The young inexperienced officer and the untrained corporal are weak counselors. Unit professional development training should be conducted.
- Officers should reinforce training by rewarding open communication and early action.
- The unit training plan should include classes for all military members on the basic causes of personal problems.
- Referrals should be made earlier and to the most appropriate organization to receive the most assistance.
- Unit leaders should be trained by professional counselors.
- The supervisor should be considered the third member of the group (counselor, client, supervisor).
- More training time should be devoted to technique practice.
- Provide training on time management for counselors.
- There should be additional training in stress management.

Rubino, P. G. (1995). *The ability of the command financial specialist program to educate sailors.* **Norfolk, VA: Navy Family Services Center.**

The objective of this study was to see if an education program would heighten awareness and increase knowledge in the field of financial planning. The three populations for the study were the crew of USS Eisenhower, aircraft squadron VAW-124 and participants in the Navy's Military Leadership Seminar. The result of the study was that education does improve awareness in certain financial management fields and increases knowledge. The study did not test whether or not financial management difficulties lessened with education.

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Jowers, K. (1997, February 10). On the rise across the ranks: Bankruptcy is growing among service members. *Navy Times* [On-line]. Available: http://www.mco.com/ mem/archives/navy/1997/nt0210gt.htm

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Chapter 13

RESERVE COMPONENT FAMILIES

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Introduction

The challenges that reserve component (RC) families must learn to cope with are discussed, as well as many of the benefits. Relationships between reserve component family issues and retention, deployment, and readiness are discussed. It is concluded that more frequent overseas deployments will probably hurt RC retention, though the effects may be difficult to detect.

Who are reserve component families? What is meant by "reserve components"? The military forces of the United States include an "active component" which includes all full-time, regular Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Air Force military members. However, the active component has been deliberately structured to be unable to perform its worldwide missions without support from part-time, reserve and national guard military members, known as "reserve component" members. The reserve component makes up approximately three-fifths of the total national military force—66% of the Army, 36% of the Navy, 38% of the Marine Corps, and 41% of the Air Force (Reserve Forces Policy Board, 1994). The National Guard, which includes Army and Air Force elements (Army Guard and Air Guard), has a state mission as well as a federal mission; national guard members (unless federalized) retain a state law enforcement capability so they can act on behalf of the governor of the state to maintain law and order and to assist in disaster relief. While all reserve component members train for 12 weekends a year and for two weeks of "annual training" under federal funding, national guard members may also be called to duty by the governor and paid from state funds, on "state active duty." Reserve military members can belong to Army, Navy, Marine Corps, or Air Force elements, while Guard members are either Army or Air Force. Reserve elements are centrally controlled by their respective reserve headquarters—for example, the Army Reserve in all fifty states, territories, and overseas is controlled by the U.S. Army Reserve Command (USARC) in Atlanta—while each state controls it own national guard elements under a somewhat looser control of the National Guard Bureau in the Pentagon.

What impact does service in the Guard or the Reserve have on families? The effects are both positive and negative. First, RC members are trained in a military skill, at government expense, with pay, that often improves their civilian job skills (Mangum & Ball, 1987). Secondly, reservists are paid, between $150 and $800 per weekend training assembly (known as monthly drills), depending upon rank. Many RC members use this

money to cover their monthly car or rent payment. Counting their monthly drills and their annual training, it is not unusual for an RC military member to be paid for over two months service each year. One drawback to this increased income is that it is taxed at a higher marginal rate since it is in addition to the military member's civilian income (Asch, 1993). In some cases, reserve income competes with lost civilian overtime pay, reducing the advantages of reserve income even further (Asch). Furthermore, travel to and from drills is not reimbursed for most reservists, though such costs may be tax deductible (Asch). Grissmer, Buddin, and Kirby (1989) analyzed reserve component pay and found that, after taking a variety of factors into account, reserve duty pay (1986 dollars) ranged from less than four dollars an hour (junior enlisted) to over seventeen dollars an hour (senior colonel). In 1986, reserve pay exceeded average overtime pay for every officer rank except second lieutenant and only exceeded overtime pay for sergeant majors, among enlisted ranks.

Mehay (1991) has noted that, in comparison to civilian moonlighting jobs, ". . . a much higher proportion of reserve compensation is in the form of fringe benefits (p. 327)." RC military members are entitled to buy term-life insurance, with no war clause, for about $9 per month for $200,000 coverage. A variety of other benefits are available: enlistment or reenlistment bonuses, tuition assistance, free travel on military aircraft (under restricted conditions), use of shopping (some restrictions) and entertainment facilities on military bases, and free medical care during annual training. A new dental plan pays 60-100% of preventive and restorative dental care for less than five dollars a month for the military member (family members are not eligible). Perhaps the most unusual benefit is the retirement package. For each credited day of service, the RC member is credited with a retirement point. At age 60, for those who have earned at least fifty points for 20 years, these points are tallied and divided by 360 to create an equivalent number of years of service. From age 60 the RC member is paid monthly 2.5% of his or her highest rank's monthly base pay times the equivalent number of years served (U.S. General Accounting Office, 1990). This retirement pay amounts to between $300 and $2,000 a month, depending on rank and years of service. RC members can also elect survivor's benefit insurance, which can pay surviving spouse or children between 35% and 55% (minus insurance costs) of the earned retirement benefit. Aside from benefits and pay, RC members may gain intangibles—camaraderie, specialized and interesting training, a sense of purpose in helping defend one's country, etc. (Moskos, 1987; Moskos & Wood, 1988).

On the negative side, the reservist normally gives up a considerable amount of time from what is normally "family" or "leisure" time. On the surface, this would appear to be less than twenty hours a month (16 hours of training time, plus lunch and commuting time). However, many RC members travel hundreds of miles to drill, staying overnight one or two nights at the distant site. For example, for three years, the author drove four hours to Omaha, Nebraska from Manhattan, Kansas to get to drill, so it cost over 50 hours a month under the best of circumstances. Although RC members can occasionally be excused from a monthly drill, many of their drills coincide with weddings, graduations, important family events and detract considerably from family memories. A hidden aspect of the time lost is that it is "block" time—longer periods of open time that families normally use for getting things done that cannot easily be done during weekday evenings. A RAND Corporation study of national guardsmen up for reenlistment found that the most often cited reason for leaving among those who did not reenlist was conflict with family over leisure time (Burright, Grissmer, & Doering, 1982). Grissmer et al.

(1989), citing data from the 1986 Reserve Components Survey, reported that nearly 43% of captains reported having problems with extra time spent on the reserves. During the Reagan administration, about 1984, so much money was made available for training that many RC headquarters offered schools nearly every weekend. At first, RC members jumped at this opportunity to earn three or four times as much money as before, while getting training they needed, and spent up to 10 or 12 weekends in a row doing RC duty. However, it became apparent that after several weeks of this situation, spouses began pressuring military members to quit—no matter how good the money was. There were simply too many things going undone or falling solely to the spouses to get done. Although regular training assemblies are fairly predictable, probably more predictable than days in the life of an AC military member, drill dates are frequently changed at the last minute. This unpredictability of free weekends is a considerable nuisance to family members.

However, the greatest risk to family members involves the call-up or mobilization of the RC member, especially if it is on short notice. It is likely that RC members view the risk of being mobilized as increasing (Asch, 1993). After all, nearly 250,000 reservists were mobilized for Desert Storm (Asch; Griffith, 1995), reflecting the total force policy in which the nation depends on RC capability to engage in war (Brauner, Thie, & Brown, 1992).[1] Westat (1992) found that the percentage of junior enlisted Army Reservists who expected to be mobilized during the remainder of their current obligation increased from 20% to 27% from 1990 to 1991 and was higher among those who had deployed for Desert Storm (38%) than among those who had not deployed (24%). In the same study, nearly 56% of junior officers who had deployed thought they would be mobilized again, compared to 31% of those who had not mobilized (Westat).

For example, prior to Desert Storm, the author was contacted on a Sunday afternoon and told that he would be on active duty the following Tuesday morning for an indefinite period of time at a location 700 miles away from his home. Thus, he had just one business day (Monday) to close out all of his personal, employment, and family business on the assumption he might never come back. Such mobilizations can catch students in the middle of a semester[2], businessmen in the middle of a critical negotiation, farmers in the middle of the harvest, leading to extreme disruption of one's life. Sometimes businesses are destroyed as customers adjust by switching to more reliable sources. Griffith (1995) found that 34% of junior enlisted personnel in a survey of Army Reservists said that extended periods of mobilization or deployment had caused problems for their families (only 23% acknowledged problems with their civilian employers). McCubbin (Studying Families, 1997) wondered if RC members would accept multiple deployments, even though they appeared to have adapted to Desert Storm well. Burke & Moskos (1996) recognized the importance of conducting research on the readiness of reserve and guard families, particularly with respect to the issue of multiple deployments, as the RC role in peace operations increases into the next century (Segal & Eyre, 1996). Westat (1992) reported that 43% of junior enlisted Army Reservists who had deployed for Desert Storm intended to leave the reserves at the end of their obligation compared to 39% of those who had not deployed.

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[1] Of course, not everyone believes the reserve components to be as viable a part of the total force as the active component (Walker, 1992).

[2] For example, 38% of junior enlisted in one study said they had been in school just before being mobilized for Desert Storm (Westat, 1992). Only 12% of those students mobilized were not refunded lost tuition and fees.

Stretch, Marlowe, Wright, and Bliese (1996) surveyed reservists who had gone to the Gulf War and found that 9% were reporting PTSD symptoms. This is an indication of the long-term risks families and their military members face in conjunction with wartime deployments, even as reservists and even after their return from war.

An interesting twist is being added as of the time this was being written, to the issue of the effects of deployment of reservists. The pool of eligible units is being used up at a faster rate than expected because of missions in the former Yugoslavia and other regions. As a result, reserve headquarters are now being tasked to provide individual reservists from reserve units to meet peacekeeping task force needs. Formerly, it was customary for reserve units to be mobilized in total or in part, but soldiers could expect to deploy with their known comrades. With the current change, an isolated individual can be deployed, stripped of friendships and attached overseas to an active or reserve unit of which he knows nothing. Certainly, the implications of this personnel "draft" for the reserve components need some consideration, if not research.

Anecdotally, an increase in divorces has been observed among RC members upon their return, though many official military research sources discount the idea (Bell, Stevens, & Segal, 1996; Schumm, Bell, Segal, & Rice, 1996). Some have attributed such divorce rates to "pile-up release" (people who would have divorced earlier but had to wait until the war was over suddenly flock to divorce court in droves) or to "weak" or "troubled" marriages (only those whose marriages were in trouble to begin with end in divorce). Some have even suggested that deployments are good for marriage, because they allow each spouse to maintain some independence. In fact, little evidence has been available to confirm or reject these informal hypotheses. Even peacekeeping deployments that are relatively safe may require a spouse to take over responsibilities and duties that may have been shared before or may have been exclusively the responsibility of the military member. Just before writing this, by coincidence, the author's wife was discussing the age of the repair-prone lawnmower (7 years), which reminded her that she had to buy it without the author's advice while he was away for Desert Storm support duty.

Deployments for peace or war also involve risk to the RC military member. During Desert Storm, one RC sergeant, who had served with the author in Texas, elected to go to Saudi Arabia. About a week or two later, another colonel talked with him by telephone, while the author was in the same room. Only a few days later, that sergeant was killed in a warzone traffic accident. In another case, many are familiar with the reserve quartermaster unit from Pennsylvania that lost over a dozen members in the SCUD attack on Dhahran.

A forgotten aspect of overseas deployment is the health issue. It is quite possible to be exposed to infectious agents overseas that one would not encounter at home. The cause of "Desert Storm Syndrome" is not known, but many RC members are acutely aware of the risk of contracting some type of debilitating illness while deployed overseas.

In contrast to active component members, the military is less apt to require RC members to work long hours during the week or to subject them to call-backs to work in the evenings. They are less likely to have to move every three to four years to accommodate military requirements. Therefore they do not have to deal with family adjustment to relocation problems (Croan, LeVine, & Blankinship, 1992), at least those caused by the

military.[3] If RC members are forced to relocate because of their civilian job, many have to leave the reserve forces because a suitable unit may not be available near their new location (Grissmer & Kirby, 1985). However, RC members—on average—probably have less adequate health care insurance than AC members and may not live close enough to military bases to take advantage of the shopping benefits for which they are eligible. In spite of the downsizing of the military, it is probably fair to say that RC members are subject to greater employment instability than AC members. In fact, at least a few RC members have come to rely on their RC pay and "connections" as a hedge against occasional periods of unemployment. Sometimes RC members, "between jobs," find they can volunteer for extra work (and pay) doing military duties and at other times, they find that their RC acquaintances are helpful for getting them new temporary or permanent jobs. Occasionally, RC members may find that they can earn nearly as much doing extra work for the military as they can earn from their regular jobs; one year, the author earned $24,000 from his regular job and nearly $21,000, as a junior officer, from his RC regular and extra work.

In theory, at least, RC families should experience a mixture of positives and negatives associated with their service member's military requirements and their benefits. Scientifically, it is more difficult to say, because compared with the active component forces, there has been relatively little systematic research on a regular basis with either RC military members or their family members. RC organizations have little in the way of research funds, not to mention research expertise, and AC organizations are naturally inclined to use their limited funds and expertise for studying AC military members and their families. However, what is known will be summarized, including unpublished research with which the author is currently involved.

Reserve Families and Retention

The importance of spouse support with respect to the retention of active component military members is well known (Bowen, 1989; Griffith, Rakoff, & Helms, 1992; Segal, 1986; Segal & Harris, 1993; Vernez & Zellman, 1987), even though it is still occasionally ignored in some studies (U.S. General Accounting Office, 1991; Gorman & Thomas, 1991). Spouse support cannot be taken for granted in the reserve components. Grissmer et al. (1989) reported that nearly a quarter of all E3 spouses had unfavorable attitudes[4] toward their husband's reserve participation; up to 15% of officers' wives also had similarly unfavorable attitudes. Even among officers, time conflicts between family life and reserve requirements lead to family problems, for as many as one third of officers (Grissmer et al.). Griffith (1995) reported that Army Reservists were more likely to say they would stay in the reserves if their spouses held favorable attitudes towards their participation in the reserves (69% staying among those whose spouses had favorable attitudes compared to 44% staying among those whose spouses had unfavorable attitudes). Lakhani and Fugita (1993) in an analysis of data from the 1986 Reserve Component Surveys found that spouse's attitude towards the member's participation in the reserves was a stronger predictor of retention intentions than reserve earnings, civilian earnings, nonlabor income, and spouse's earnings for both enlisted personnel

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[3] However, some reserve families did relocate to Fort Bragg, North Carolina when their soldiers were deployed to the Sinai in 1995. Further data are needed to determine if such relocations will become normative for deployments of RC service members.

[4] Another 15 % had only a neutral attitude.

and officers. However, spouse's attitude was a stronger predictor of retention intentions than years of military service for enlisted personnel only. In a subsequent analysis of the same dataset which predicted actual retention (rather than retention intentions) spouse support was still the strongest predictor (Lakhani, 1995). Westat (1992) reported that lack of spouse support was cited more often than lack of employer support as a reason for leaving the Army Reserve. In a survey of several hundred reserve component personnel mobilized for Desert Storm career intentions were correlated ($r = .34$) with both spouse support for the soldier being in the RC and with perceptions that the RC were concerned about families (Harris, Elig, & Oliver, 1992). A cohort effect is probably operating with respect to family support and retention. Many new enlistees are not married and, for them, spouse support is not a concern. Once a member has nearly enough years in service to obtain retirement eligibility, it becomes less reasonable to quit, even if one's spouse is not supportive. Grissmer, Kirby, and Sze (1992) found that the critical years in which spouse (and employer) support made the most difference for retention were years 4-12 (mid-career).

Recently, Schumm et al. (1998) reported preliminary results of a study of nearly 1,000 Ohio reservists regarding the projected effects of frequent reserve call-ups for peacekeeping and other missions. Fifty-five percent felt that retention would be less likely under such circumstances and over half felt that increased family problems would be more likely. Only about 40% felt that adverse employment effects would be more likely—apparently, employer support of the Guard and Reserve programs is working. Our conclusion was that increased OPTEMPO[5] would likely have a negative impact on reserve family life and retention.

Although gender and race affect factors that predict retention in the RC (Thomas & Kocher, 1993), it is not clear if research has established race and gender interactions with the importance of spouse support for predicting retention. Such research would be especially important in those reserve components (such as the Army Reserve) that have a higher percentage of women and minorities.

Reserve Families and Deployments

Bell, Schumm, et al. (1996) dedicated a significant section of their review of deployment concerns to reserve component families. They cited six studies, (four of them dealing with Army families), which focused on the impact of Desert Storm mobilization. About half of RC families (52%) managed well or very well during Desert Storm. However, even though families were supportive of the war, the extended separation was problematic for many and had a negative effect on spouses' attitudes. This tended to reduce retention intentions. While families often coped well, they were dissatisfied with the daily implications of having to deal with an absent military member. A study of a small number of marine reservists found that young, married families without prior deployment experience had the most problems. Short notice for the deployment, which was not uncommon, interfered with families' ability to cope with the separation. A more recent study of Ohio reservists found that concerns about likely negative effects on family

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[5] OPTEMPO is an abbreviation for operational tempo, i.e., speed of operations. A related term is PERSTEMPO or personnel tempo, which refers to the impact on personnel of high OPTEMPO. As service members are asked to do more with less, more quickly, there are consequences for the quality of life for personnel and their families.

life due to increased OPTEMPO among reserve units increased from 42% for reservists who had not been mobilized for Desert Storm, to 46% for those who had been mobilized but not to the Gulf, to 51% for those who had been deployed to the Gulf (Schumm et al., 1998).

Another problem, which the author observed while serving on the Fifth Army staff, was that some units were alerted, de-alerted, alerted, called-up, then told they weren't needed, then called again, then sent home again. At least one Army Reserve unit was mobilized for only two months after getting orders for twelve months. This left many of its members in a lurch after quitting their jobs and giving up good apartments in the Los Angeles area because they assumed they would be in the Sierra Vista area of Arizona for a year.

While the military had the same social services available for reservists as for active component families, many reserve families lived too far away from military installations to make much use of their support. One study (Bell, Schumm, Segal, & Rice, 1996) found that 40% of the reserve families lived more than 100 miles from the nearest military installation. Not surprisingly, reserve component families tended to seek help from other RC families or from their civilian neighbors or social service agencies. Reserve units were more likely to have a family support group (FSG) during Desert Storm than before, but having an FSG per se didn't necessarily help families that much. Sometimes FSGs became semi-official rumor mills and a challenge to official sources of information. During the redeployment, the ability of soldiers to call home directly from overseas meant that families got a mixture of news, half of which was more true than what was known by officials in the United States and half less true. Passenger lists for flights home were adjusted up to the last minute, with the result that some military members came home without the military having an accurate knowledge of their schedules. The author remembers one group of four or five reserve soldiers who caught a flight to Philadelphia, landed there, and headed for some place in the Midwest—and it took them five days to get there. Meanwhile, no one in an official capacity had a clue as to their whereabouts. Incidents like these didn't help the military's credibility or its ability to control rumors.

However, Westat (1992) found that in 1991, among junior enlisted, nearly 36% of spouses of Army Reservists who had deployed for Desert Storm rated their soldier's extended absence for mobilization/deployment as a serious or very serious problem, compared to only 22% of the spouses of Army Reservists who had not mobilized for Desert Storm. That high level might account for the increase from 1988 to 1991 (14% to 18%) of spouses with not very favorable attitudes toward the Army Reserve.[6] Surprisingly, junior officers rated absence from family for an extended mobilization/deployment as a serious or very serious problem relatively frequently (45% among those who had deployed for Desert Storm and 42% among those who had not deployed).

Recently, the Army has spent a great deal of effort to track the family life of a group of reserve component military members, most of whom belonged to the Army National Guard, who deployed for six months to the Sinai desert as part of that region's

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[6] At the same time, employers cited as having not very favorable attitudes among junior enlisted decreased from 12% to 8%.

peacekeeping force, the Multinational Force and Observers (MFO). It appears that marital satisfaction did not decrease much on average from before to during deployment, but among those for whom it did, morale was lowered and job performance suffered. Preliminary data from a follow-up study, two years after the military members returned, suggests that the average instability[7] rate was just over 20% but that the majority of those who divorced had indicated at pre-deployment that they thought their marriage might be "in trouble." That sort of problem and the related possibility that those in distressed marriages might be more likely to volunteer for overseas deployments (to get away from an unpleasant family life) make sorting out the divorce effect of deployments much more difficult than it would appear to be at first glance. For example, in an unpublished analysis (by this author and Dr. Bruce Bell of the Army Research Institute) of data from spouses of active component soldiers sent to Bosnia, we found that about 10% of spouses were *glad* or at least *relieved* to see their soldiers depart—half of such spouses reported on their surveys information that made us suspect they were in particularly distressed, perhaps even abusive, marriages. Unless one sorts out those marriages from nondistressed marriages, it will be difficult to tell what effect deployments have on the typical, nondistressed marriage. However, from an overall perspective it appears that deployments such as Desert Storm do not reduce marital satisfaction, *if* the couple's marriage does not become unstable in the meanwhile (Schumm, Hemesath, Bell, Palmer-Johnson, & Elig, 1996).

Reserve Families and Readiness

Kirkland & Katz (1989) were among the first to detail linkages between family factors and readiness among active component soldiers. Oliver (1991) summarized what was known about families and readiness. She recalled evidence from the Civil War indicating that soldiers deserted more often when it was rumored that their enemy had occupied their home areas, threatening their families. Over a third of Vietnam deserters who appealed for clemency cited family reasons for their desertion (Bell & Houston, 1976). Oliver also cites Gal's (1986) finding that "family stressors render soldiers more vulnerable to battle shock" (p. 5). Griffith (1995) found that 55% of members whose spouses had a favorable attitude towards their participation in the Army Reserve thought that an extended mobilization/deployment would not be a problem, compared to only 33% of those whose spouses had unfavorable attitudes. Although its role dropped out in a regression analysis with several independent variables, by itself family readiness weakly predicted whether the Army Reservist saw himself as prepared for combat (r = .16), their unit as prepared for combat (r = .15), or themselves as ready to report for duty if mobilized (r = .07). Harris et al. (1992) report that spouse support was less correlated with readiness measures than was soldier's sense that the RC were concerned about families. While spouse support was correlated with unit morale (.22), overall satisfaction with the Army (.29), and with unit preparedness (.14), RC family concern was correlated even more strongly with unit morale (.42), overall satisfaction (.39), and with unit preparedness (.27). Sadacca, McCloy, and DiFazio (1993) found that spouse support for Army career did not predict individual readiness, even though it predicted retention. On the other hand, unit support for families predicted both retention and readiness. Nevertheless, Sadacca et al. concluded that despite the lack of a direct impact on individual readiness, ". . . family factors played a vital role in readiness through their impact on such factors

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[7]Instability refers to relationships that transition from legally separated to divorced, from married to legally separated, or from married to divorced.

such as soldier job satisfaction and commitment to the Army, which in turn do directly impact readiness" (p. 7).

Conclusions

Reserve families face unique hardships in exchange for the many benefits of reserve component membership. Most reserve component families have handled themselves well, in peace and in war, but some have had substantial difficulties, perhaps in part because they are frequently rather distant from any formal installation support system. My best guess is that using the reserve components for frequent overseas deployments will reduce retention rates and tend to destabilize those families who are not rather strong from the beginning. Due to continued downsizing in both the active and reserve components, the effects of frequent deployments on retention will be more difficult to observe. When final information is available on divorce rates as a function of deployments, the military may be required to deal with the issue of marriages that are weak prior to longer overseas deployments. Although intriguing work has already been done on readiness and family factors, I suspect that better models will be needed to capture the effects of family issues on individual and unit readiness, probably because family effects on readiness are often indirect.

Annotated Bibliography

Asch, B. J. (1993). *Reserve supply in the post-Desert Storm recruiting environment.* **Santa Monica, CA: The RAND Corporation.**

The basic assumption of this RAND study was that concern about increased deployments would be greater after Desert Storm and that such concerns would have to be offset by greater (perceived) benefits if retention and recruiting were to remain stable. The report appears to consider mobilization insurance favorably as one such new benefit. However, the report defers any definitive conclusions, pending the analysis of better post-Desert Storm data.

Bell, D. B., Schumm, W. R., Segal, M. W., & Rice, R. E. (1996). The family support system for the Multinational Force and Observers (MFO). In R. H. Phelps and B. J. Farr (Eds.), *Reserve component soldiers as peacekeepers* **(pp. 355-394). Alexandria, VA: U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences.**

The authors discuss the results of their analyses of longitudinal data from the six-month deployment to the Sinai Desert of members of the 29th Light Infantry Division (Virginia and Maryland Army National Guard). This unit was supplemented by Army Reservists and Guard personnel from across the United States, and led, primarily, by Active Army leaders. The mission was under intense scrutiny by the Chief of Staff of the Army and the unit worked hard to provide all family support measures known from previous research to assist family adaptation to deployments. The system appeared to work well for most families. Families least adequately supported were those living the farthest from the states of Virginia and Maryland and from Fort Bragg, the active component installation from which the deployment occurred. The families wanted better and less expensive communications with their soldier.

Bell, D. B., Stevens, M. L., & Segal, M. W. (1996). *How to support families during overseas deployments: A sourcebook for service providers* (Research Report 1687). Alexandria, VA: U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences.

This remarkable report summarized current research on the impact of deployments on families and the most effective ways to support families during the deployments of service members. Although the Army Research Institute printed several thousand copies, their supply has been exhausted. The report discusses the family support system at unit and battalion level, the family support system at the installation level and how to improve both, with special attention to deployment and reunion issues. Previous research dealing with Operation Desert Storm and more recent deployments, as reservists were affected, is discussed.

Burke, S. C. & Moskos, C. C. (1996). Family readiness: Applying what we know and highlighting what we need to know. *Military Family Issues: The Research Digest, 1*(1), 1-4.

The primary focus of this review of literature on family readiness is the question of what we need to do to update research on family readiness given the changes in military missions, deployments, and use of the reserve components in the last decade. Family readiness is defined as "a family's ability to positively adapt to and/or effectively deal with the stressors associated with military duties and a military lifestyle." Individual and unit readiness are affected by family readiness. However, the changes related to increasing OPTEMPO or operational tempo (sometimes called personnel tempo or PERSTEMPO) are so recent that relatively little research exists. That problem is particularly relevant for national guard and reserve forces that are being used extensively for peacekeeping and humanitarian missions. Research questions raised include: How do family coping patterns change as a consequence of deployment? What daily living skills do families develop as a result of deployment experiences? How does the perceived danger of a deployment affect family adaptation? What is the impact of multiple deployments on family adaptation to future deployments? How does the new type of deployment affect family life for reserve component families? To what extent should the military engage local communities in partnership arrangements for supporting military families? How responsive would civilian communities be to such requests for partnership? How does the type of deployment (level of danger, duration, whether planned or unplanned, amount of information available to families, family perceptions) affect family adaptation? The report also discusses several current military programs for improving family readiness.

Croan, G. M., LeVine, C. T., & Blankinship, D. A. (1992). *Family adjustment to relocation* (Tech. Rep. 968). Alexandria, VA: U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences.

This report is one of a series generated as a result of the multi-million dollar Army Family Research Project (AFRP), which collected data worldwide from over 10,000 soldiers in 1989. Overall, families adapted well to relocation, but since the report did not present extensive multivariate analyses, the question remains quite open.

Griffith, J., Rakoff, S. H., & Helms, R. F. (1992). *Family and other impacts on retention* (Tech. Rep. 951). Alexandria, VA: U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences.

This is one of a series of reports generated for the Army Family Research Project (AFRP), which collected data worldwide from over 10,000 soldiers and over 3,000 spouses in 1989. Its analyses confirmed the tremendous impact of spouse support on retention.

Oliver, L. W. (1991). *Readiness and family factors: Findings and implications from the literature* (Research Report 1582). Alexandria, VA: U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences.

This brief report summarized what was known about military readiness and family factors in 1991, which was relatively little, at that time. The report was intended to guide the work of the Army Family Research Program (AFRP) and raised several questions for analysis in that dataset. Research questions included the relationship of family factors to soldier performance, family needs during deployments, and the impact of various family services or support programs on readiness.

Rosenberg, F. R. (1994). Spouses of reservists and national guardsmen: A survey of the effects of Desert Shield/Storm. In D. R. Segal (Ed.), *Peace operations: Workshop proceedings* (Research Report 1670, pp. 129-167). Alexandria, VA: U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences.

Rosenberg's contribution is one of several from the February 1994 Peace Operations Workshop held at the University of Maryland under the auspices of the Army Research Institute. The study includes data from 236 spouses of reserve component service members. Most of the service members were in transportation (48%) or combat support (13%) units. She found that deployment distress did influence well-being, as measured by symptoms, even when controlling for total stress and satisfaction with everyday life. She found that most reservists depended upon their local communities for support rather than formal Army agencies.

Schumm, W. R., Jurich, A. P., Stever, J. A., Sanders, D., Castelo, C., & Bollman, S. R. (1998). Attitudes of reserve component service members regarding the consequences of frequent overseas deployments. *Psychological Reports, 83,* 983-989.

In 1996-1997 nearly a thousand reservists and guard personnel—mostly from the state of Ohio—responded to a survey concerning the effects of Desert Storm service. Part of the survey was a set of items on the projected effects of frequent deployments. In general, about half of those responding viewed the effects of an increase in deployments (i.e., an average of one every five years for the average reservist) negatively. Those who had not been mobilized for Desert Storm or who were still in the reserves or Guard at the time of the survey had more positive attitudes towards future deployment requirements.

Segal, D. R. & Eyre, D. P. (1996). *U.S. Army in peace operations at the dawning of the twenty-first century* (Special Report 24). Alexandria, VA: U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences.

This report was based on a Peace Operations Workshop conducted at the University of Maryland in February 1994 under the sponsorship of the U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences. The report describes in great detail the changes in peace operations since World War II and the implications of these changes for the U.S. Army. The adjustments are noted as especially challenging for reserve component units and families. The authors state that the impact of deployments on individual reservists and their units needs to be systematically assessed. Notably, the authors argue for improved training in socio-psychological aspects of peace operations for soldiers and their leaders.

Segal, M. W. (1986). The military and the family as greedy institutions. *Armed Forces & Society, 13,* 9-38.

Segal takes her cue for the discussion of the military as a greedy institution from Lewis A. Coser's 1974 book *Greedy Institutions: Patterns of Undivided Commitment.* (New York: Free Press). The family is greedy because it makes serious demands upon all its members for time and energy. The military is more greedy than most institutions because of its constellation of demands. The military requires its members to risk their lives, relocate frequently, be separated frequently for long periods of time, live overseas, and adhere to unique normative constraints (e.g., how spouses are supposed to behave or support military social functions). Military members are more often married, more often female, more often married to another service member or an unmarried parent, and less willing to go along with extracurricular military requirements (e.g., that wives volunteer to support installation social services for free). The military can improve retention and readiness if it recognizes the conflict between these two greedy institutions and adjusts its policies accordingly.

Segal, M. W. & Harris, J. (1993). *What we know about Army families* (Special Report 21). Alexandria, VA: U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences.

This report summarized current literature and the findings of the multi-million dollar research program of the Army Family Research Project (AFRP). The report includes charts ready-made for overhead slide production on how units, installations, and families can work together to improve readiness and retention in the U.S. Army.

Westat, Inc. (1992). *1991 Survey of United States Army Reserve (USAR) Troop Program Unit (TPU) Soldiers: Comparisons between deployed and nondeployed soldiers during Operation Desert Shield/Storm* (Final Report). Rockville, MD: Author.

This report summarized comparisons of attitudes of USAR soldiers in 1991 compared to previous surveys. The goal of the research was to pinpoint differences that might be related to having served in Desert Storm. Most effects were modest in magnitude.

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THE TRANSITION TO CIVILIAN LIFE:
THE CASE OF MILITARY RETIREMENT

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Introduction

"There is no sponsor for retirement" (Frank, 1993).

Retirement marks the end of the military career cycle and represents an important turning point in the retiree's life. Anyone who has made the transition from military to civilian life or who has gone through this experience with a loved one is aware that the process, for most military members and their families, is not easy. The small body of literature on this transition substantiates the observation that there is a predictable cluster of challenges which confront people as they end their military careers and attempt to reenter civilian life (Druss, 1965; Frank, 1993; Giffen and McNeil, 1967; Greenberg, 1965; Jolly, 1996; Kilpatrick & Kilpatrick, 1979; McClure, 1992; McNeil, 1967; McNeil, Lecca, & Wright, 1983; Synder, 1994; Wolpert, 1999).

This chapter will examine the research dealing with this process, highlighting some of the conceptual, theoretical, and methodological issues that surface from this literature. The intent is to evaluate the nature of the existing research on military retirement and to identify areas where there are gaps and unanswered questions. Understanding this process and the factors affecting its outcome is important not only to the people who go through it, but also to those who design and operate the transition programs provided by the military. Although people leaving the military at earlier stages in their careers undoubtedly face transition issues, the focus of this chapter will be on retirement because very little research has been published about members who leave the service earlier. Therefore, a brief description of the military retirement system (the policies, benefits, and programs) is in order, because the way in which this system operates has an impact on how retirees experience their exit from the military.

The Military Retirement System

Retirement after twenty years of service is mandatory for officers below the rank of lieutenant colonel, and for all but the top enlisted ranks. Lieutenant colonels may serve for seven more years beyond twenty, if they are not promoted. Colonels and generals may serve for thirty years, as may the most senior NCOs. Many of those who have the option of staying on after twenty years retire "voluntarily" close to that twenty-year mark. Enlistees, on average, retire with twenty-two years of service and officers with twenty-four years (Snyder, 1994). They are likely to do so if they perceive that their chances of promotion are poor, if they don't want another PCS (Permanent Change of Station) move for economic or family reasons, and/or if they feel their prospects for civilian employment will be better if they are younger when they retire (McNeil et al., 1983; Wolpert, 1999). Once they have retired, military members are subject to recall if conditions warrant, but this rarely occurs.

Research suggests that having a satisfying military career and leaving the service voluntarily are important factors that are likely to enhance adaptation to and satisfaction with civilian life (Jolly, 1996; Knippa, 1979, McClure, 1992). The question arises, therefore, to what extent do people retire by choice? As Frank (1993) points out, "the timing of retirement may be a function of factors beyond the control of the service member" (p. 215). In conjunction with the downsizing underway since the end of the Cold War, the military services have implemented early retirement options. There have been pressures for military personnel to "volunteer" for early retirement, with the threat that if an insufficient number do so, many will be forced to separate involuntarily. In 1993, Frank estimated that in the Air Force alone, around 229,000 members with between fifteen and twenty years of service would be forced out. Thus, for many, including those who do serve for twenty years, the degree of voluntarism associated with their retirement is moot. To date, however, the nature of existing research does not permit an accurate assessment of the percentage of those who indeed retired voluntarily. Indeed, to assess the extent to which such decisions are voluntary is not always easy because there is often a combination of "push" and "pull" issues affecting the choice (Jolly; McClure).

The military retirement system has become complex, as policymakers have struggled to deal with its rising cost. In 1997, the military retiree population was at 1.89 million and the Defense Department paid over \$30 billion to 1.7 million retirees—some don't get retirement pay because they draw other compensation (Adde, 1998). Retirement pay for the cohort retiring now is typically half the amount of one's active duty basic pay after twenty years with 2½% increments for each subsequent year served up to a maximum of 75% of base pay (McNeil et al., 1983; Wolpert, 1999). For those who are divorced, the amount of retirement pay they may keep for themselves may be reduced to as little as one fourth of base pay.[1] The formula for calculating retirement pay of recruits who entered the service after 1980 has altered, with the result that when members of this cohort retire at the twenty-year mark they will receive approximately one-third of their base active duty pay. The changes implemented since 1980 have

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[1] This is the result of a law passed in 1981 entitles an ex-spouse to a percentage of the retiree's pay, calculated by a formula that takes into account the number of years the couple was married while the careerist was on active duty.

created the perception among many that policymakers are chipping away at their benefits (Wolpert, 1999).

Retirement pay does not include several active duty compensation items, namely food and housing allowances, special pay for hazardous duties, incentive pay for flying and submarine duties. However, in addition to their retirement pay, military retirees do continue to receive many benefits such as use of recreation services and facilities, space-available travel on military aircraft, commissary and exchange privileges. Retirees and their families are also entitled to medical care at military medical facilities on a space-available basis and to medical insurance (TRICARE/CHAMPUS) until they become eligible for MEDICARE. Although the medical insurance is presently free, the cost of co-payments for retirees and their families is rising (Wolpert, 1999). The closing of many military bases, the consolidation of forces on remaining bases, and the tendency of retirees congregate near military installations, have placed heavy demands on remaining military medical facilities. Consequently, many retirees feel that military medical care, hitherto somewhat limited by the space-available criterion, is now even less accessible to them.

Traditionally, there have been two basic rationales for the military retirement system. First, the "up or out" policy at the twenty-year mark has been designed to assure the "youth and vigor" of the active force and to retain the pyramidal structure of personnel (fewer and fewer as rank increases). This is accomplished by weeding out older personnel in order to make room in the upper ranks for younger personnel (McNeil et al., 1983; Wolpert, 1999). The second function of the retirement system has been to provide one of the primary inducements for recruits to opt for a military career rather than leaving after a term or two of service.

Research has shown that, in the past, the generous retirement package has been an important factor in retention (Cooper, 1981; McNeil et al., 1983; Wolpert). Although the impact of the reductions in retirement benefits on retention are currently being debated (Jehn 1999; Garamone, 1998), the perceptions that military careers are becoming less secure and that retirement and medical benefits are eroding are thought to contribute to morale problems and retention issues for the active duty force (Martin & McClure, 1999). Among retirees as well there have been signs of discontent, evident in their increased political activity aimed at protecting their benefits (Snyder, 1994).

Conceptual Issues

"Retirement" or Mid-Life Career and Identity Change?

The concept of "retirement" and the analytic models associated with it may not actually be the most appropriate for an adequate understanding of this group (Biderman, 1964; Frank, 1993; McNeil et al., 1983). Retirement, as it is thought of in the civilian context, connotes withdrawal from the labor force and living on a pension and/or savings. This is not what the vast majority of military retirees do when they first exit the services. The age range of those who complete a twenty-year career in the military services is between 37 and the early fifties, with the majority retiring in their early to mid-forties. (Frank; McNeil et al.; Snyder, 1994; Wolpert, 1999). These people, if they were civilians, would be expected to be at the peak of their skill levels and

earning power, able to look forward to 20-30 more years of productivity. Typically at this stage of life people have heavy financial responsibilities. Most are married and/or have children (often of age involving college expenses), most have mortgages and car payments, and many have alimony and child support expenses as well. Few people in their early forties can afford to have their annual income suddenly drop by half or more. Even those who can afford to live on their retirement pay are not likely to be ready for a "normal" retirement. Thus, the vast majority of military retirees seek employment when they leave the service. A model built around middle-age unemployment or career change is probably more apt than a retirement model for characterizing this process and its attendant challenges. Certain union members and corporate executives and middle managers have been forced to deal with career changes at this stage (Newman, 1989). However, a model based on civilian mid-life career change would not completely take into account some of the special structural factors affecting military retirees.

Furthermore the transition to civilian life may involve more than a change in career; it may require significant identity shifts as well. In her qualitative study of individuals who had left the British military, Jolly (1996) found that all of them, in one way or another, experienced the three stages predicted by academic research on identity change. These stages are: (1) confrontation—acknowledging the fact that change is inevitable and/or desirable, (2) disengagement—breaking from the old way of life and rearranging priorities, loyalties and commitments, and (3) resocialization—acquiring the skills and attitudes appropriate to new roles. Successfully negotiating any of these stages is difficult, even when people are motivated to do so. Jolly found considerable variation among her respondents in their desire to change. Nevertheless, she argues that some degree of identity change is inevitable, whether people seek it or not.

Psychological Explanations

The earliest writings on the retirement transition have focused mainly on psychological explanations for the difficulties that people experience during this process (Doherty, 1982; Druss, 1965; Greenberg, 1965; Kilpatrick & Kilpatrick, 1979; McNeil and Giffen, 1967; Milowe, 1964).[2] McNeil and Giffen report that many people who are about to retire or have done so recently display symptoms of mental illness: confusion, heavy drinking, depression, physical problems, erratic behavior, etc. They observe that such symptoms appear frequently enough in the pre-retirement phase to warrant calling this "the retirement syndrome". Just how pervasive these symptoms are is difficult to assess because the observations include only those who have sought help. Since seeking help goes against a strong norm in military culture (Frank, 1993; McClure, 1992), this group is likely to be highly atypical.

The common denominator among these psychological explanations is that they are based implicitly on mental illness models. A problem with the mental illness perspective is that it obscures the degree to which the difficulties people experience are social in origin and may require social rather than individual solutions. This tendency is derived from the assumption that the ultimate or most important causes of maladjustment are located within the individual. Even when there is recognition

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[2] It should be noted that in most cases these articles are highly speculative, based on observations of people who have sought help.

that external factors may be involved, these tend to be relegated to the status of precipitating factors which bring out the symptoms in the susceptible individual. What makes one individual more susceptible than another is explained in terms of intrapsychic phenomena. The terminology used to describe the nature of the internal phenomena varies depending on the theoretical perspective invoked.

This tendency can be seen in the publications that suggest various ways to conceptualize the mental health aspects of the military retirement process. These include role theory (McNeil & Giffen, 1967), Erikson's ego theory (Milowe, 1964), depression (Greenberg, 1965), psychoanalytic theory (Druss, 1965), grief theory (Kilpatrick & Kilpatrick, 1979) and crisis theory (Doherty, 1982). Some of these have the virtues of acknowledging the situational sources and, in most cases, transitory nature of the difficulties retirees experience. McNeil and Giffen's approach has the added merit of describing some of the anomic aspects of the period immediately following retirement that, they contend, everyone confronts. Although they use the term, *role confusion* rather than *anomie*, they see lack of structure and clearly defined norms to be characteristic of this phase. Nevertheless, they assert (as do Doherty, Druss, Greenberg, the Kilparticks and Milowe) that most retirees in time make a "good adjustment" and that those who are maladjusted have some underlying neurosis or psychosis requiring professional attention. So far, however, there is insufficient data, representative of the entire retiree population, to enable us to say what proportion of retirees have serious adjustment problems or whether there are sub-groups that may be at especially high risk.

Another kind of psychological approach can be found in Frank's (1993) suggestion that we look for basic personality characteristics, which might differentiate military members from civilians. He cites some studies that attempt to link personality traits such as pragmatism and realism (being doers rather than thinkers) to military professionals. He suggests that such personality characteristics may "hobble" the career soldier in making the transition to civilian life (p.229). It is difficult to imagine, though, that such traits are not distributed among civilians to a similar degree, and even more difficult to see just how they might pose problems for breaking from the military. Jolly (1996) convincingly argues that it is not useful to try to establish a clear link between personality characteristics and difficulties with adapting to retirement. She observes that there seems to be a wide range of personality types among those who adapt well and poorly. Furthermore, she points out that it would take extremely sophisticated personality tests to discover if there are significant correlations between personality types and post-retirement adjustment.

Social Explanations

While psychological explanations may help us understand variations among *individuals* in their degree of difficulty with the transition process, they do not account for the challenges that all, or the vast majority of retirees face. Nor do these explanations adequately deal with possible patterns among sub-groups. The key to understanding these challenges lies in looking at the structural and cultural features, which differentiate military and civilian life. Relevant as well, may be the structure of the civilian economy and cultural attitudes and expectations regarding appropriate roles for the middle-aged.

It would be logical to assume that the transition from military to civilian life would be difficult to the extent that the differences between these sectors are great. Currently there is considerable debate over how to characterize the military as contrasted to civilian society and over the degree of difference between them. This debate was sparked by Charles Moskos (1988) who elaborated on a thesis initially proposed by Lasswell (1941) and developed by Janowitz (1971) which suggested that there is increasing convergence between military and civilian life as the military is becoming more "civilianized." Moskos argues that the military has been changing from a more traditional institutional mode of organization and values to one that is more occupational. Moskos (1988) characterizes the institutional side of this dichotomy as follows:

> An *institution* is legitimated in terms of values and norms, that is, a purpose transcending individual self-interest in favor of a presumed higher good...Members of an institution are often seen as following a calling captured in words like *duty, honor,* and *country.* They are commonly viewed and regard themselves as being different or apart from the broader society.
> Moskos, p. 16

The occupational mode of organization, by contrast, is based on principles of the marketplace, supply and demand rather than rank determining pay and the priority of self-interest over the interest of the organization.

In reality, Moskos (1988) observes, there are always elements of both modes in the military. The issues are which predominate and in what ways. Furthermore, Moskos points out that the encroachment of occupationalism in the military has been uneven. Its impact varies by branch of service, rank, and occupational specialties within the services. He notes, for example, that the Air Force is probably the branch closest to the occupational pole whereas the Army and the Marine Corps, especially, retain more elements of the institutional model. Officers are more occupationally oriented than the enlisted ranks and occupational specialties which are less highly technical and/or more directly concerned with combat are more institutionally oriented.

Biderman (1964), commenting on these trend prior to Moskos, considers their possible impact on military retirees. He observes that increasing convergence between the military and civilian modes of organization should make the retirement transition smoother for those leaving the service. We could carry this line of reasoning one step further and hypothesize that, if movement to the occupational mode is uneven in the present military, adjustment to civilian life should be smoother for military members in the service branches, military occupational specialties, and ranks that have moved more decisively in that direction.

Biderman (1964) recognized that there are limits to how far this convergence between the military and civilian modes of organization could go, even if it plays a role in smoothing the path to civilian careers for retirees.

> This accommodation [to second careers in the civilian sector] is strained
> by the needs of the military institution as a whole and of retirees
> themselves to preserve many of their distinctive features and much of
> their unique identity.   Biderman, p. 299

There are some military leaders, as well, who believe that there are limits to how far the military can move in the occupational direction and still accomplish its mission. Moskos (1988) observed that the trend began to reverse itself in the eighties. This reversal, he notes, is the result of conscious military efforts to reinvigorate institutional features of the American forces" by trying to "enhance member commitment and corporate identity" (Moskos, p. 23).

The implication of this for understanding the transition experience is that all military members (and their family members as well) are likely to be "institutionalized" to some degree as a result of spending twenty or more years in the service. As Jolly (1996) points out, this is not something for which military members need to be ashamed or apologetic. Unlike prisoners or other examples of institutionalization, military members have not lost control of their own lives.

> Rather, military members have *surrendered* a larger portion of control over their lives and have pledged obedience to their superiors. Since they have submitted of their own volition, their self-esteem remains intact and their perception of dependency is not great. Unlike prisoners, the sick and disabled, they usually feel enriched, not defeated by the organization which directs their endeavors. They remain motivated, from choice, to live their lives according to rules to which they have given their assent. And when they leave, they leave not as 'losers' but as former members of a body which commands widespread public respect.   Jolly, p.39

Although the degree to which military members have been institutionalized clearly varies, depending on the nature of their military experience, it is quite likely that everyone will experience a jolt when they leave the service. This is the case because, the trends discussed above notwithstanding, it can be argued that military life is still significantly different from civilian life and many civilian occupational roles.

As indicated above, in attempting to make the transition to civilian life, military retirees face an anomic situation. That is, they are leaving a setting in which statuses, roles, and rules are very clear and entering one where the roles are unfamiliar, and the rules often vague, and/or altogether lacking. For example, while in the military, the members' time is highly structured and someone else makes most decisions for them. Even if they do not always like the regimented existence, they are accustomed to it. Some military retirees have reported that at first, upon leaving the service, simple decisions that civilians take for granted, like what to wear and how to style one's hair can be problematic (McClure, 1992). Moreover, those who have spent at least twenty years in the military have become accustomed to the privileges and deference associated with their rank, visible even to strangers by the emblems on their uniforms. Once the retirees have left the service and placed the uniforms in mothballs, their rank carries no weight in the civilian world. Nobody salutes them anymore. The shift from a highly structured life to one that is relatively unstructured and without the privileges of rank can be unsettling. McNeil and his associates (1983) observe that the period immediately after retirement is especially difficult. These authors claim that all retirees experience, temporarily at least, "loss of status," "role loss," and "role confusion" (McNeil et al.).

One area in which roles are apt to change, particularly for retirees who do not have a job waiting, is the family. Segal and Harris (1993) report that families who adapt well to military life are accustomed to dealing with prolonged absences of the military member—due to long work days and periods when the military member is gone on temporary duty assignments or deployments (see also Bell and Schumm chapter in this volume). When the military member is suddenly at home all day, every day, family roles and routines are disrupted. The experience can be disconcerting for all.

There are also some indications in the literature that retirement not only affects the status and self-concept of the retiree, but also has corresponding effects on family members (Jolly, 1996; McNeil et al., 1983). They too can experience a sudden loss of status (that goes with military privileges associated with a spouse or parent's rank). Furthermore, it can be stressful to live with someone who is going through the process. It has also been noted that family members can put added pressures on retirees, increasing the stress for them. (McNeil et al.). Jolly observed as well that spouses of retirees may be so caught up in dealing with their own stress over the changes that they have little or no energy left to support their retiring partner. Many families probably redefine the roles and adjust in time, but some fall apart under the strain. This is an area that has not been systematically researched, so at this point we do not know the extent of dislocation or upheaval that occurs in families at the retirement stage.

In addition, the civilian community is lacking in structures designed to absorb military retirees. Usually on their own, they must go out and compete with civilians who are likely to be more knowledgeable about facilities and state and local entitlements for the unemployed and job seeking. Even for civilians, these services leave a lot to be desired and they are certainly not designed to take the special needs of an ex-military person into account. Military retirees are apt to find themselves in a competitive situation in which desirable jobs are scarce due to the changing economy and age structure of the general population. They may face age discrimination and all the other obstacles that affect civilians of middle age who are seeking jobs (Newman, 1989). On the other hand, there are some sectors in the current economy where some military retirees may have an easier time finding employment because of their technical or administrative skills. An important variable to take into account, therefore is the health and structure of the civilian economy.

Unlike unemployed civilians, however, military retirees confront some additional obstacles due to their past military status. Because military people are transferred to new assignments every three to five years, they are likely to lack strong roots or ties to a particular community or to civilian networks at the time of retirement. For some military retirees, contacts that they have developed in the military may be useful in securing employment. However, for many, the lack of contacts within civilian networks constitutes a major handicap, not just for job seeking, but also for becoming integrated into the life of the civilian community. Retirees often feel daunted by the prospect of embarking on a second career. For those who lack readily transferable skills, there is difficulty translating their military experience into language that makes sense to prospective civilian employers. They are often uneasy about the job interview situation and uncomfortable about bargaining for wages—something they never had to do in the service.

Of course, the military experience is not the same for everyone. Some members and their families spent most of their time living on military installations where their lives were highly controlled. At any given time, however, the majority of service members and their families (about 70%), live off base in the civilian community, although many of them will have lived on base at some point in their military careers (Twiss & Martin, 1998). It is likely that those who lived off base for a significant portion of their careers would be more familiar and comfortable with civilian life and have an easier time making the transition when they retire. Existing research, however, does not tell us what proportion of those who live off base live in neighborhoods inhabited mostly by other military families, or with whom people living off base interact socially. Nor is there research, which would permit us to assess whether military members who live off base during their time in service adapt more easily to civilian life when they retire.

Post-Retirement Adaptation/Adjustment

In most of the retirement literature, the concept of *adjustment* is not treated as problematic. One is left to infer that it means something like getting on with one's life, finding a second career and expressing satisfaction with it—or simply not complaining or acknowledging having problems. A major difficulty here is that the values of the observer are apt to affect what is considered to be *a good adjustment*. Who has made the more successful transition to civilian life, the person who dramatically altered his/her self conception and succeeded at a vocation dramatically different from the military (an artist, investigative reporter, veterinarian) or someone who is happily settled in a government job which is similar in many ways to working in the military? At present this issue has scarcely been explored, let alone resolved.

Characteristics of the Retired Military Population

Snyder (1994) has provided a useful summary of existing data to describe some demographic characteristics of the military retiree population. Retired enlistees outnumber officers by more than 2-to-1, and 4 of 5 retirees were members of the regular forces rather than the reserves. The rank distribution of the retired population is similar to that of current active force, as is the pattern of service affiliation—33% Army, 30% Navy/Marine Corps, 37% Air Force. In the over-all retiree population, the average age of retired officers is 67, of enlistees, 58. Enlistees are about six years younger at their retirement than officers; they also retire with fewer years of service—22 as compared to 24 years for officers.

The racial and gender composition of the retired military community is different from the current active component. Snyder (1994) found that almost 98% of retirees are male, in contrast to the current approximately 86%-14% male-female division in the active component (DMDC, 1997). Although there is not racial data on retirees, Snyder estimates a low percentage of minority members among retirees, almost all of whom are former enlistees. This can be explained, in part, because the largest increases in women and minorities in the active forces began after the implementation of the All-Volunteer Force in 1973. Snyder predicts that the retiree population will more closely reflect the composition of the active force as these women and minority members reach the retirement stage. This prediction assumes, however, that women and

minorities will be promoted and retained in the active force until retirement in proportion to their present numbers. This seems highly unlikely, especially for women.

Post Retirement Earnings and Employment

The bulk of published and unpublished research on military retirees focuses upon their post-retirement employment and earnings. Some of these studies have concentrated on the effects on post-service earnings of the degree to which occupational skills acquired in the military can be transferred into the civilian labor market. Mangum and Ball (1987) found that about half of their respondents reported that their military training helped them find a job and one-third were able to directly transfer skills acquired in the military to a civilian job. Skill transfer was highest for electronic repair, medical/health service, administrative/functional support, electrical/mechanical repair, and craftsmen in service support. It was lowest for combat arms, communication/intelligence, and other technical areas.

Other studies have examined the differential effects of military service on earnings by race. Several studies (Charamette & Thomas 1982; Mehay, 1991; Sliepcevic, 1993) found that Black veterans earn more than Black non-veterans. The research also shows, however, that White veterans earn more than non-White veterans (Hirschkowitz, 1998). Wang (1993) concludes that, "In general, returns from military service have been positive for blacks but inconclusive for whites, when compared to non-veterans of the same race" (p.18).

Wang (1993) compared the post service earnings of military retirees with those of non-retired veterans with two to six years of service during the same period of the work life cycle. He found that retirees' post-service earnings are about 12 to 14 percent less than the earnings of comparable non-retired veterans (p. 69). Several studies have shown that there is a 5-year transition period during which retirees earn less (20% or more less) than their civilian counterparts (Cooper, 1981; Snyder, 1994; Wang, 1993). Snyder found the post-transition income of retirees is from 10 to 20% below that of comparably educated civilians.

Overall, this type of research shows that most retirees work after leaving the service, but many have difficulty finding employment (Cooper, 1981; McNeil et al., 1983; Snyder, 1994). There are several reasons for these difficulties. Cutbacks in defense procurement have decreased the number of jobs available in defense related industries where many retirees were able to find employment in the past. In addition, reductions in the workforce in general have produced a surplus of middle managers seeking jobs. As noted, many retirees aspire to such positions, but in the present job market, do not have the track record in the private sector of the displaced executives with whom they are competing. Many military retirees held military jobs for which there are no counterparts in the civilian sector and/or they lack readily transferable skills.

The employment statistics, so far, seem to have reassured policymakers that the second career is a viable solution to the early retirement problems of service people, and justifies the recent reduction in military retirement pay for those who are now entering the service. Statistics may gloss over the fact that a significant minority is not successful in establishing a second career. Among those who do find employment

there is a large problem of underemployment. According to Synder (1994), finding a job today takes longer than it did in the eighties and retirees are increasingly likely to take less attractive jobs, hoping that these will lead to something better. Researchers speculate that the retirement pay is one factor that accounts for the willingness of retirees to take lower paying jobs. It is also noted that many retirees choose to live in areas where salaries are lower, perhaps because they prefer to be near military installations or in warmer climates (Biderman, 1973; Frank, 1993; McNeil et al., 1983; Snyder).

Pre-retirement Planning and Transition Programs

Conventional wisdom and civilian literature suggest that retirees adjust better and are happier if they plan for retirement well before the event. Dorfman, 1989; Morrow, 1982; Shouksmith, 1983; Singleton, 1984). The very small amount of research on pre-retirement planning among military members does suggest that those who plan well in advance are more satisfied with their lives after retirement (Fuller & Redfering, 1976; Wolpert, 1991).

Somewhat surprisingly, many military members do not begin to plan for their retirement until a few months before the event (Frank, 1993; McClure, 1992). The lack of control over the timing of retirement may account for this in some cases. In exploring this issue in depth with respondents, this author uncovered some additional reasons for lack of planning (McClure). Most respondents mentioned that there is a strong norm in military culture that members should give their all right up to their last day on active duty. The contempt with which they referred to those who were "retired on active duty" speaks to the strength of this informal rule. It was not clear, however, the extent to which this might have been a convenient rationalization for those who were not ready to deal the event and their uncertainty about what they wanted to do next.

In addition to the mandatory briefings on retirement regulations and benefits, the military has experimented with several programs for retirees. For the most part these have focused on assisting retirees in searching for jobs—preparing resumes, developing interviewing skills, and learning how to do a job search. According to Frank (1993), families are typically not included in these programs and they rarely deal with aspects of the process other than seeking employment. At present, every service has a Transition Assistance Program that includes workshops, counseling, and facilities for assisting retirees in their job searches (Wolpert, 1999).

Very little research has been done to evaluate the impact of these transition assistance programs sponsored by the military. Wolpert (1991) surveyed matched groups, one of which participated in the Air Force Career Transition Program (CTP) and one which did not. The results were somewhat surprising, in that participants in CTP were *less* likely than the matched non-treatment group to have their civilian job expectations met, and their incomes were lower. Wolpert interprets this result with the observation that the CTP participants began their preparation for retirement later than the group, which did not participate. Wolpert did find some support for the hypothesis that planning was related to over-all life satisfaction. Murtie (1996) reviewed some data on Army Transition Programs. He found that individuals receiving a higher number of services from the transition program where less likely to draw unemployment

compensation. He also found that soldiers who used all of the transition services obtained significantly higher incomes than those who used two or fewer services. A survey of those who used the services indicated a high degree of satisfaction with them. The services seen as most useful were help with resume preparation, career planning and job interview techniques.

There are also professional associations, such as the Retired Officers' Association, that do a lot to assist in the retirement transition. In addition to their lobbying activities to protect benefits, these groups are a valuable resource for networking, resume preparation, and job-search information. They also function as a mechanism for retirees to preserve their military identity, to some extent. Some retirees have shied away from participating in these groups, though, because they feel that in order to make a successful transition, they need to change, rather than preserve their military identity (McClure, 1992).

Areas of Needed Research

Most of the research on military retirement to date which involves large databases has focused on demographic characteristics of retirees and on their post-retirement earnings and employment. Although much has been written about the *process* of making the transition to civilian life most of this literature falls into three broad categories. The first consists of a few relatively small-scale studies, usually doctoral dissertations or master's theses written by those who have gone through the retirement process themselves. Although these studies provide useful insights and hypotheses, their generalizability is problematic. The second type of literature on military retirement in not research per se, but rather a compilation of what is known about the retirement system, the characteristics of retirees and the issues that affect them. The third category consists of a plethora of self-help booklets and pamphlets containing information about what the retiree should expect and how to cope. The very existence of this self-help literature is an indicator that retirees find the transition process problematic to some degree; otherwise there would be no audience for such publications. This suggests that more systematic research would be of great benefit to this group and those who seek to help them.

It would be very useful at this stage of our knowledge to have well-designed qualitative research to identify and clarify the issues which military retirees face. Such research could systematically seek out members of the sub-groups, which our present information suggests might differ in the degree of difficulty the transition is apt to pose for them. For example, do people who retire in their fifties have a more difficult time with the transition than people who retire in their forties? Do members retiring from the less civilianized branches of service or military jobs have a harder time than those coming from areas which more closely resemble civilian occupational roles? Do couples in traditional marriages (where the wife stayed home and supported her husband's career) face different issues from those in marriages where the spouse had an independent career? Are there differences in transition problems by rank? Do military members and their families who have spent more of their careers housed in civilian communities have an easier transition than those who lived most of the time on installations?

Completely neglected by researchers has been the impact of the retirement transition on spouses and children of retirees. There are hints in existing literature that families are affected but we have no systematic data on what these effects are. It would be important to have qualitative research that explores this area as well.

Although implied, it has not been sufficiently stressed that the retirement transition is a process, not a point in time. It follows that it would be desirable to have longitudinal studies that follow groups of retirees and their families over time. This author has observed cases where individuals struggled and floundered immediately after leaving the service, but five or more years later appeared to have positively transformed their lives.

It would then be useful to incorporate the findings from qualitative research into a large-scale survey of retirees and their family members that would probe other areas of their experiences than those covered thus far in surveys by the Department of Defense. Finally, although we have highlighted some of the research on the impact of pre-retirement planning and transition programs, there is clearly a need for additional work in this area. It is possible, for example, that more systematic research into the transition process would yield suggestions for additional components for military-sponsored transition programs such as programs that would include both family member and retirees.

Annotated Bibliography

Bakos, B. (1996). *Analysis of post-retirement earnings and employment experiences of military retirees.* **Master's thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, CA.**

This study used the 1990 Census of Population and Housing, Public Use Microdata Samples to compare the post-retirement earnings of military retirees to those of civilians who had never served in the military and non-retired veterans.

The most pertinent findings were:
- The proportion of military retirees not in the labor force is substantially higher than the proportion of non-veteran civilians or non-retired veterans not in the labor force.
- Retirees tend to work fewer weeks per year and less hours per week.
- Retirees earn, on average, $4347 less annually than both comparison groups.
- Thus military retirees not only tend to work less but when they do work, they tend to take jobs that pay less.
- The present value of the earnings difference between a retiree and a non-retired veteran is approximately $48,534 (11.38 percent).

The author suggested several possible reasons for the earnings gap between military retirees and civilians who have been continuously in the labor force.
- The skills of the military retiree are mostly military specific.
- The person in the civilian labor market has accumulated a significant amount of civilian labor experience and specific experience at a single firm.
- The non-retired military veteran earns more because he/she enters the civilian labor force at an earlier age

Frank, R. A. (1993) Military retirement in the Post-Cold War era. In F. W. Kaslow (Ed.), *The military family in peace and war* **(pp. 214-240). New York: Springer.**

This article is not a research report, but it provides an overview of military retirement in a period of downsizing and reduction of benefits. It presents the available information about the number of military retirees, their residence patterns, their demographic characteristics, post-service earnings and careers, retirement benefits. The author also discusses the typical challenges of making the transition to civilian life and careers and speculates about the psychological factors that might affect adaptation. Finally, the author considers the possibility that traditional military couples (military husband and stay-at-home wife) may face different issues at retirement than non-traditional couples (couples in which the civilian spouse is employed).

Fuller, R. L. & Redfering, D. L. (1976). Effects of pre-retirement planning on the retirement adjustment of military personnel. *Sociology of Work and Occupations, 3(4),* **478-487.**

The purpose of this study was to ascertain whether pre-retirement planning facilitated the adjustment of individuals retiring from the military. Retired military personnel living in a predominately military community received questionnaires in the mail. Those responding included 372 officers and 379 enlisted retirees. The questionnaire obtained biographical information—rank at retirement, number of years retired, age, work status, and size of family. It also contained 10 Likert items asking about specific pre-retirement areas of planning (financial, legal, employment, housing, recreation, and health). In addition, there were 12 Likert items designed to measure respondents' adjustment (state of happiness, satisfaction with life style, and their mental and physical states).

The authors found no significant differences between rank and adjustment or between the number of years retired and adjustment. The relationship between the degree of planning and the degree of retirement adjustment was, however, significant (p<.001). Those who planned had less trouble adjusting to their new lifestyle.

Haddock, C. K., Poston, W. C., Talcott, G. W., Atkins, L. J., & Masciotra, A. R. (1995). Health behaviors of military retirees: Incidence of smoking and alcohol use. *Military Medicine, 160*, 74-77.

The purpose of this study was to examine the incidence of smoking and alcohol use in military retirees and their dependents. The authors hypothesized that military retirees and dependents would have significantly higher rates of smoking and alcohol consumption than civilian samples. The study also explored the possible moderating effects of variables such as military rank and age on smoking and alcohol consumption.

The subjects were retired military members (n = 1,359) and dependents of retirees (n = 983) 50 years or older who participated in an ongoing wellness program at a large military center in the southwestern United States. They completed a 21-item questionnaire as part of their initial program paperwork. Demographic items included gender, marital status, military status, military rank at retirement, age, and educational level.

Subjects were classified as smokers, ex-smokers, and never smokers, depending on their responses to questions about their smoking patterns. To measure drinking patterns, subjects were asked to estimate the amount of beer, wine, and liquor (oz. servings) they consumed each month. Calculating the sum of these three standard measures provided an index of total alcohol consumption.

A relatively large percentage of the military retirees classified themselves as ex-smokers. This finding may indicate that military members tend to adopt more healthy behaviors over time. Among both retirees and dependents younger subjects and those with higher military rank at retirement (or rank of sponsor at retirement) were less likely to be smokers. Finally, higher military rank at retirement was related to an increase in alcohol intake for both retirees and dependents.

The study also found that smoking and alcohol patterns among military retirees and dependents were similar to those found in surveys of the general senior population. In addition, the authors suggest that the fact that the majority of retirees (68%) classified themselves as ex-smokers suggests that these individuals may adopt more healthy lifestyles over time.

A problem with this study, however, is that the sample was not representative of the entire military retiree population. It is possible that people who elect to participate in a wellness program are more health conscious than those who do not.

Jolly, R. (1996). *Changing step from military to civilian life: People in transition.* **London: Brassey's.**

This is a qualitative study of factors that affect the adaptation of people leaving the military service. Sixty-two people were interviewed in depth; at least 10 were former officers and 10 were from other ranks from each of the three British services (Royal Air Force, Army, Navy). Ages ranged from 24 to 59, length of service from 3 to 36 years. The author used structured interviews to prompt discussion and test hypotheses.

Hypotheses derived from *conventional wisdom*—untested notions that circulate in the military—included the following.
- Those most likely to succeed are those who can put the past behind and quickly and single mindedly channel energies in a new venture.
- Those with fewer years of military service will adjust more easily than those with 20 or more years of service.
- That those in combat roles will have a harder time adjusting than those in support roles.
- Those who can take their military trade or skill into the civilian sector have an advantage over those who have to start over (extensive retraining).
- "A positive, optimistic attitude and an actively supportive family makes a vital contribution to the process of change" (p.7).

Academic research on identity and how it changes suggested that:
- There are three possible paths for people facing a big change: (1) Make a conscious effort to change their self-image, (2) Resist any change to self-image, ignoring the new circumstances, and (3) Attempt a gradual acceptance of small differences while attempting to preserve continuity.
- There are three distinct stages in process of change: (1) Confrontation—acknowledging the fact that change is desirable or inevitable,. (2) Disengagement—breaking away from the old way of life, and (3) Resocialization—acquiring the skills, attitudes, and traits that are appropriate for the roles associated with the new way of life.

The results were complex and difficult to summarize, a characteristic of qualitative research. Thus space restrictions preclude doing justice to the richness of the study. Several of the hypotheses were *red herrings*, that is, not so much untrue as misleading. "What was thought to be cause was often effect. Much of the conventional wisdom was of this nature—superficially appealing but basically misleading" (p. 14). The hypotheses which did stand up were: (1) those who adjusted well had a generally satisfactory military career and left more or less of their own accord, (2) the notion of the three stages was supported by the interviews and successful negotiation of each phase was "seen to be vital" (p.16). It was not possible to skip the disengagement phase, by moving directly from confrontation to resocialization. Some kind of transition period was essential, however hardly anyone gave much thought to *disengagement* or *transition*, let alone valued or planned for it. (3) The desire to reach a new goal in civilian life was crucial. All those who were well satisfied had formulated tangible, detailed and realistic aims for the future.

McNeil, J. S., Lecca, P. J., & Wright, R. Jr. (1983). *Military retirement: Social, economic and mental health dilemmas.* **Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Allenheld.**

This book, though somewhat dated now, was the first comprehensive effort to lay out what was known about military retirement. It contains a history of military retirement and the policy issues that have affected its development. The psychological, social, and economic factors that affect the transition process and the situation of military retirees are explored at length. It remains a useful starting point for becoming acquainted with what is known about military retirement and many of the patterns and generalizations it contains have been substantiated in more recent works of this type.

Murtie, R. F. (1996). *The Army Transition Program: Time for institutionalization or termination?* **Carlisle, PA: U.S. Army War College.**

The author looks at several studies in order to asses whether the existing evidence supports the idea that the Army Transition Program should be continued.

He found that individuals receiving higher number of services from the transition program where less likely to draw unemployment compensation. However, the author points out that the research does not taken into account the employment or economic situation of the larger society during the period of the study. Additionally, there was no control group (people who did not participate in any aspect of job or transition assistance) included in the research.

He also found that soldiers who used all of the transition services obtained significantly higher incomes than those who used two or fewer services. A survey of those who used the services indicated a high degree of satisfaction with them. The services seen as most useful were help with resume preparation, career planning and job interview techniques.

A study of the organizational commitment of officers who survived a drawdown showed that it was lower than it was before downsizing. Those who perceived transition programs as adequate had higher commitment than those who perceived them to be inadequate. Those who were more aware of the programs tended to have a stronger bond with the Army, suggesting that it would be useful to the Army to publicize transition assistance more.

The author concludes that there is a strong case for continuing to provide transitional services. It is cost effective in terms of dollars because it reduces the number of leaving soldiers who draw unemployment and it is less expensive than comparable civilian programs. Furthermore, it enhances organizational commitment of those in the Army and the need for it will continue into the next century because anticipated annual outflow of military personnel remains high.

Platte, R. J. (1976). The second career: Perceived social mobility and adjustment among recent army retirees and wives of army retirees. In H. I. McCubbin, B. B. Dahl, & E. J. Hunter (Eds.), *Families in the military system* **(pp. 258-287). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.**

The purpose of this study was to discover if social mobility affected the adjustment of Army retirees and their wives. The sample included all male nondisability retirees who retired from the Army between January 1972 and February 1973 and their wives. There were four subsamples which were fairly equal in size—319 retired officers, 318 officers' wives, 368 enlisted retirees, and 368 wives of enlisted retirees. A 15 page self-administered questionnaire was mailed to respondents. The response rate was 47.2%.

The study examined the following hypotheses:
- The direction of social mobility will make a difference in marital adjustment and psychological well-being.
- Horizontal mobility will be related to higher levels of adjustment and well-being than vertical mobility.
- Downward mobility will result in lower marital adjustment and psychological well being than upward mobility.

The findings for officers were that well being was significantly related to the direction of mobility; however there were no significant differences in well being between the horizontally mobile, the upwardly mobile and the unemployed. They found no significant differences in marital adjustment among the horizontal and vertically mobile or between the upward and downwardly mobile. However, downwardly mobile officers reported significantly lower levels of marital adjustment than unemployed officers.

For officers' wives the direction of mobility did not seem to have an effect on either their marital adjustment or psychological well being .

Social mobility did make a difference in psychological well being for enlisted men. There were no significant differences between the horizontally and vertically mobile, but upwardly mobile men had higher levels of well being than downwardly mobile enlisted retirees. Marital adjustment was correlated with mobility, overall, but there was not strong support for the subhypotheses. The upwardly mobile and the unemployed enlisted retirees tended to have the highest level of marital adjustment.

Among enlisted wives, well being was lower among wives of downwardly mobile retirees, but there no significant differences among the other categories.

Marital adjustment was not affected by mobility in any of the mobility groups.

Snyder, W. P. (1994) Military retirees: A portrait of the community. *Armed Forces and Society, 20*(4), 581-598.

The purpose of this article is to provide a multi-faceted description of the characteristics of military retirees. The article relies on secondary sources for its data.

Demographics of the retiree community. In 1994 there were 1.68 million retirees and the number is estimated to be 1.9 million by the end of this decade. Retired enlistees outnumber officers by more the 2 to 1 and 4 of 5 retirees have regular rather than reserve appointments. The racial and gender composition of the retired military community is different from active component. Almost 98% are male in contrast to the current 89%-11% male-female division in the active component. Retirees have a low percentage of minority members, almost all of whom are former enlistees. The rank distribution of the retired population is similar to that of current active force as is the pattern of service affiliation—33% Army, 30% Navy/Marine Corps, 37% Air Force. The average age of retired officers is 67, of enlistees, 58. Enlistees are about six years younger at their retirement than officers; they also retire with fewer years of service—22 as compared to 24 years for officers.

Retirement: Benefits and Decisions. Retired pay is a percentage of the member's base pay at retirement—the percentage equals 2.5 time the number of years of service. Retired pay does not include the other active duty compensation items: food and housing allowances, special pay for hazardous duties, incentive pay for flying and submarine duties. However, retirees and their families are eligible for some in-kind benefits such as, subsidized insurance, limited health care, commissary and exchange privileges. The value of these depends on the size of the family and its location relative to a military base.

Employment and income. Most retirees work after leaving the service, but many have difficulty finding employment. Cutbacks in defense procurement, have reduced employment opportunities for retirees. In addition, workforce reductions in the economy have created a glut of job seeking civilian middle managers to compete with retirees who aspire to those kinds of positions. Thus, finding a job takes longer than it did in the eighties and retirees are increasingly likely to take less attractive jobs with the hope of finding something better in the future. The fact that they have their retirement pay contributes to their underemployment; they are willing to take lower salaries initially, hoping to recoup the income later on. There is a 5 year transition period during which retirees earn 20% or more less than their civilian counterparts. The post transition income of retirees is from 10 to 20% below that of comparably educated civilians; half or more of this discrepancy is explained by voluntary decisions—military retirees work fewer hours, elect to live in areas with lower wages, or accept employment in lower income activities.

Wang, T. Y. (1993). *An analysis of the effects of military service on retirees' civilian earnings.* **Master's thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, CA.**

This paper is representative of several master's theses from the Naval Postgraduate School dealing with post-service earnings of military personnel and retirees. In addition to its own analysis of the 1987 National Survey of Veterans data set, it contains a useful review of these other similar studies.

The research question examined in this thesis was whether there are differences in post-service earnings between retired military veterans and veterans who had served from two and six years. Th author developed a statistical model to discern relationships between earnings and level of education, marital status, age, race and years of potential labor market experience. Female veterans were eliminated from the analysis because there were very few of them in the data set.

Comparison of retired versus non-retired veterans revealed that retired veterans were older, more educated, less likely to take on the job training after leaving the military, but earned less than non-retired veterans. Retired veterans were less geographically mobile than non-retired veterans, but more likely to change jobs after leaving the military. Comparisons by race indicated that retired non-White veterans earned 18% less than Whites, were significantly less mobile than Whites, but the two groups showed similar levels of on the job training. In the non-retired veteran group, the average income of the non-Whites was 30% lower than that of Whites and their average education level was 3% lower than Whites. When drafted versus volunteer retired veterans were compared, the average annual income for draftees was 26% less than that for volunteers, even though the average experience level of draftees was 15% higher than that of the volunteer groups. This discrepancy may be explained by the fact that draftees were less mobile and more likely to switch jobs than the volunteers. Similar comparisons in the non-retired sample showed that draftees earned 7% less than volunteers, on average. The differences in earnings between draftees and volunteers may be due to the fact that the draftee group had a higher proportion of non-Whites, groups who traditionally have lower incomes.

There are significant differences between retired veteran's and non-retired veterans post-service earnings, overall. Retirees' post-service earnings are about 12 to 14 percent less than the earnings of comparable non-retired veterans with two to six years of service during the same period of the work life cycle. Multivariate analysis indicates that education, potential labor market experience, and having only one job since release from the military are the factors that increase post service earnings the most.

Wolpert, D. S. (1991). Planning for military retirement: Does it affect subsequent job and/or life satisfaction? *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy, 11*(1-3), 81-103.

The purpose of this study was to ascertain the effects of planning for retirement on job and life satisfaction after retirement. A secondary purpose was to evaluate the impact of the Air Force Career Transition Program (CTP) which was designed to help those with an approved retirement date to prepare themselves for civilian employment.

The main hypothesis for the study is that increased pre-retirement planning, including programs like CTP, leads to more job satisfaction and/or life satisfaction.

A treatment sample was selected from the sign-in rosters for twenty-two CTP sessions and included only those whose indicated last duty day allowed for at least four months post-retirement experience by the time of the study. A matched sample of non-participants in the CTP program was selected from computer generated lists from the Air Force Military Personnel Center. The overall response rate was 69%, yielding 360 questionnaires for the analysis.

The author developed two scales to measure the frequency and helpfulness of pre-retirement activities. The first measure, using a five point frequency scale (Never = 1 to Very Often = 5) requested information on how frequently the subjects did informal preparations for retirement tasks. The next section asked about the helpfulness of those tasks, also using a five point scale (Not Helpful At All = 1 to Very Helpful = 5). A factor analysis of both scales produced an Interactions and Activities subscale for each overall measure.

Overall job satisfaction is one of the two major outcome variables. The subjects were asked to evaluate their current civilian job, using an 18 item, Likert type scale developed by Brayfield and Rothe (1951). This Index of Job Satisfaction was modified somewhat to measure satisfaction with the Air Force Career as well. Life satisfaction was measured by an eight item semantic differentiation scale, developed by Quinn and Staines (1977).

The results indicate limited support for the relationship between pre-retirement planning and life satisfaction, but the data supported the exact opposite of the hypothesis as it relates to the impact of CTP. That is, participants in CTP were *less* likely than the matched non-treatment group to have their civilian job expectations met, and their incomes were lower. It was also evident that the CTP participants started the job search process later than the matched group.

Further research is needed to refine the planning scales and to evaluate CTP and related programs. Such programs may become increasingly important because of anticipated increases in involuntary separation from the military. Those who are not leaving the military voluntarily may be less likely to have planned for retirement.

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Chapter 15

CONCLUSION

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Michael D. Shaler, Colonel, U.S. Army (Retired)

The American Armed Forces have been addressing issues surrounding military families since the birth of our Nation. The 18th century attitude of the Army and the Navy was essentially 'we take care of our own.' That paternalistic approach to families, as we saw implemented in frontier Army posts and seaport-based Navy families, served the military well until World War II. As the military evolved in the mid-seventies into the All-Volunteer Force we have today, the services addressed what became a much more married force, and developed and funded a number of responsive family support programs. Today, the Department of Defense has taken the lead in addressing military family issues, and the policies and practices that we now see in place have evolved, some times in fits and starts, to provide a well resourced and well administered set of quality-of-life programs that support military families serving around the globe.

Much has been made of the unique challenges and hardships of military life. Thus, as the research reviewed in this volume reveals, a great deal of attention has been focused upon how military members and their families adapt to stressors such as long work days, deployment and family separation, fears for the military member's safety in the hazardous duties they perform, relocation, and uncertainty induced by downsizing and changes in military benefits. The research consistently shows, however, that the majority of military children and adolescents are as well adjusted as their civilian counterparts, most military couples report that they are satisfied with their marriages and with military life, and the great preponderance of families cope well with deployment, separation, and relocation.

Experience, maturity, and self-selection undoubtedly combine to help account for the over-all degree of satisfaction and adaptation to military life that the surveys have shown. This is likely to be the case because the research to date indicates that those who have the most problems and are least satisfied are the younger, lower ranking military members and their spouses. Those who do not learn to adapt may select themselves out of the service. Credit must also go to the efforts made by the military to provide programs and services for service members and their families to help them cope with the demands of military life. As the reviews in this volume demonstrate, however, more research is needed to assess the ways in which military-sponsored programs and services contribute to both the well-being of military members and their families and to improved readiness for the Armed Forces.

This is not to suggest that military families do not encounter problems and challenges. Domestic violence and financial management problems indicate a less sanguine picture, although it is not yet clear whether these problems are more prevalent among military families than they are among civilians. It has also been difficult to assess how military divorce rates compare to those in the civilian population. To adequately address these issues would require primary research that targets comparable military and civilian populations. It should be possible to identify civilian occupations with

similar stressors for families (e.g., relocation, long hours, and hazardous duty) which would permit meaningful comparisons with the military. The data do indicate that the willingness of the military to address these issues openly provides a supportive environment for military families. The recurring question remains: Does military family life really differ as much from civilian life as has been assumed? Somewhat surprisingly, there is a very noticeable lack of research that explicitly compares military and civilian family life.

The largely favorable results of research on military families should not lead us to conclude that the military need no longer be concerned with the quality of life of its families. The willingness of the Department of Defense to fund, guide, and integrate research findings has yielded impressive results, to include concrete findings that there are solid linkages between strong family support programs and high states of military readiness. Supporting families and providing for an acceptable quality of life have also repeatedly been shown to pay dividends in contributing to retention. If budgetary constraints threaten the family and community supports already in place, the findings of future research may not be as positive because families have raised their expectations regarding the minimum levels of acceptability for quality-of-life programs. In most family support areas, there is little research available to help define the minimum acceptable level of support in many of these programs.

Military leaders are concerned because there is evidence that retention is currently a problem not only among first-term recruits but also among more senior, experienced personnel in later stages of their military careers. The increasing demands on military members and their families due to downsizing (doing more with fewer people) combined with a favorable job market in the civilian sector appear to be inducing people to leave the service (Martin, in press). In addition, the military is facing a housing crisis as Chapter 3 has shown. The increase in the numbers of military spouses who are working outside the home, in dual military couples, and single active duty parents have strained the capacities of existing child care programs. Given the fact that so many spouses desire employment, the difficulties that spouses have in establishing careers and finding employment when the military members relocate have become issues of increasing concern. These employment issues affect spouse satisfaction with the military, and, therefore the retention decisions of their military partner (Defense Science Board, 1995; Segal & Harris, 1993; Stander et al., 1998).

What does become increasingly clear from reviewing military family research is that refinements in conception and design are now possible because of the work that has gone before. The 'life course' perspective, for example, provides one framework for helping to conceptualize which quality-of-life issues might have priority at different stages in the military member's career and family lifecycle. For example, the chapter on military housing recognizes that the needs and priorities of younger, single military members are quite different from those who are married and raising children. The issue of the meaning and importance of community for military members may vary with the lifecycle as well, as Twiss suggests (Chapter 3). It is also very likely that what is experienced as stressful will differ from one lifecycle stage to another. For instance, researchers now recognize that deployment, separation, and relocation create more problems for junior enlisted families than for any other sub-group. It might also be useful to look more closely at the issues that concern military members and their families at mid-career, for this is the point when many decide whether they will leave

the service or commit themselves to the military until they are eligible for retirement. Finally, the concerns of people approaching retirement clearly differ from those at all other stages.

Researchers will need to monitor the impact of changes underway in military organization and culture. These trends, which have been highlighted in the first chapter and reiterated in various ways throughout this volume, create real challenges for the military as well as for the families who will be a part of it in the future. For example, the changes in the nature of military missions mean more frequent deployments for active duty personnel. Deployments are a very strong motivator for young service members because they are able to put into action the skills they have recently acquired in their early military training. For those who have been deployed several times for assorted peacekeeping or humanitarian missions, however, the enthusiasm for such assignments may wane. Although the research indicates that family adaptation to deployment improves with experience, more research is needed to ascertain whether there is an upper limit to the number and timing of deployments that service members and their families are willing or able to endure. Downsizing the active duty force has also meant that the military relies increasingly on the Reserve Component, deploying them more frequently on such missions. Very little is known at this point about the impact of repeated deployment on reserve members' civilian careers or upon their families. Schumm (Chapter 13) speculates that prospects for retention among reservists under these circumstances are poor, but only more research in this area will enable us to predict outcomes with greater certainty.

Long-term consequences of other trends that researchers will need to observe include the larger proportion of married military members, which has produced increasing dispersion of military families in civilian communities around bases; the growing diversity of the military in demographic characteristics, as well as values and lifestyles; privatization and outsourcing, which have created a growing civilian presence on military installations; and the likelihood of consolidating forces in large megabases, which juxtapose different service branches (and cultures).

In addition to the large-scale surveys that periodically assess the attitudes and adaptation of military members and their families toward various aspects of military life, it is now apparent that there is a need to develop methods for assessing the role of community in the context of these changes. To date, there is little data available to assess the impact of the emerging trends discussed above on military communities or to discern possible relationships among community variables and job satisfaction, job performance, and readiness and retention. To adequately pursue questions about community, more sophisticated research designs and methods of analysis than those typically used up to now will be required. A few researchers (Bliese and Halverston, 1996; Pittman and Bowen, 1995) have begun to point the way in this direction by grappling with the methodological challenges of aggregating individual level data in order to make statements about larger units of analysis. Efforts such as these may well have important implications for the study of military communities and their components.

The relationship between military and civilian society will be an important area to study in the future as well. A paradox emerges from the observations of military scholars in this regard; military life is becoming more like civilian life while the

military as an institution m··· be becoming more isolated from civilian society. For example, on the one hand, t'··:e are those who argue that military work and family life are becoming steadily more ·vilianized." Signs of this trend include changes to more corporate styles of managc·.ent (Janowitz, 1971); an increase in "occupational" orientation to military careers—as opposed to viewing it as a "calling" (Moskos, 1988); and, privatization and outsourcing of jobs and functions previously performed by active duty personnel with a corresponding increase in the number of civilians working on military installations. Additional indicators are the increasing number of military members living in the civilian community, and proposed changes in the structuring of medical and retirement benefits to more closely resemble those available to civilian employees. The other side of the paradox lies in the observation that the public's identification with the military may be diminishing. Martin (in press) comments that the closing of many military installations throughout the country and consolidating forces on a few megabases have contributed to this phenomenon. He observes that in many parts of the country now, military units are no longer on hand to participate in local parades and other ceremonies—activities which help to promote a connection between the military and the civilian public.

If the predictions in the opening chapter prove correct, the military may not be in a position to 'take care of its own' in the future in the manner to which service members and their families have become accustomed. And if the civilian economy continues to thrive, recruitment and retention could become increasingly problematic. Those who are concerned with the quality of life of military families should not be lulled into complacency by the research results of the past decade. The reality is changing and the need for sophisticated research to assess the impact of these changes is more pressing than ever.

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Each chapter in this compendium focuses on a particular topic area and reviews what we have learned, identifies gaps in our present knowledge, and suggests directions for future research on military members and their families. In several cases, theoretical issues pertaining to a given substantive area are explored as well. This review of military family research reveals the value of theory and the need for more effort in that direction. Other general recommendations that emerge include the need for additional qualitative research, more secondary analysis of existing data and increased longitudinal studies.

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